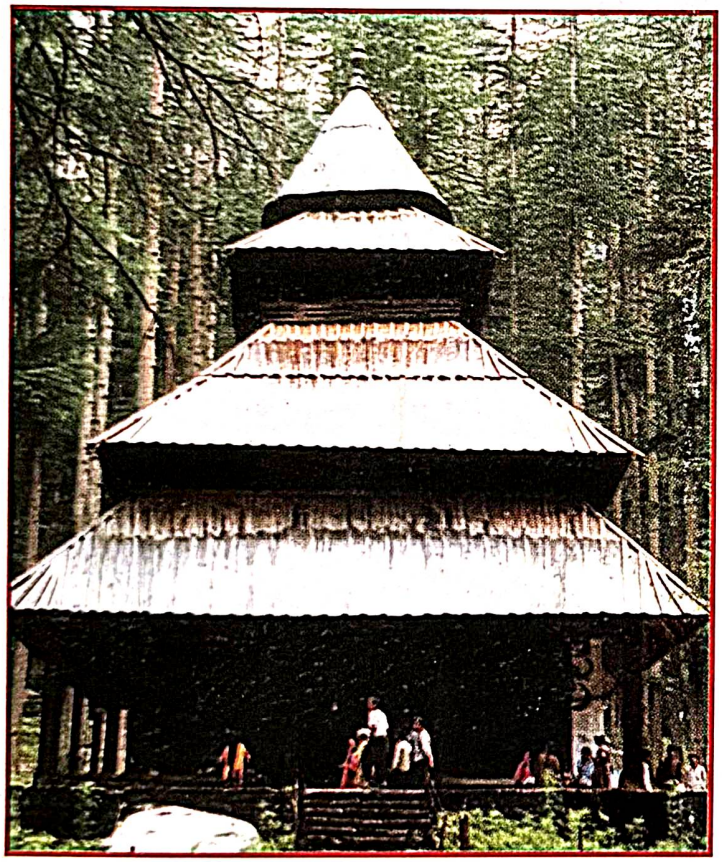
KULLU
A STUDY IN HISTORY

(From the Earliest to AD 1900)



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ABBREVIATIONS

Hist.	=	History of the Punjab Hill States by J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel
JASB	=	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
V 1	=	*Vamsavali* used by Hutchison & Vogel
V 2	=	*Vamsavali* used by Hardyal

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PREFACE

Kullu is one of the most fascinating countries endowed with abundant natural resources. Here thrived a rich cultural tradition since ancient times. It has been one of the most powerful and leading state among the states in the Western Himalaya. The rich cultural tradition and heritage bear enough testimony to its grand past.

My contact with Kullu began since very early in my life. I spent the most precious period of my childhood studying here in schools for nine years from 1954 to 1962. My understanding and knowledge of the area widened and deepened much during the course of my study for my maiden work, *History and Religions of Lahul* (1984). The remaining part of the job on the present work was carried out during my stay here since 1993, while in service.

In the course of my study I came in contact with numerous people, gaining from their wealth of knowledge. I am greatly indebted to them all. Special mention may be made of Shri Chandershekhar Bebas of Dhalpur, Kullu, whose family had been in the service of the family of the Rajas of Kullu as *purohit* (priest). He himself was a witness to many incidents taking place during the period of his life of ninety-five years. He is scholar in sanskrit and urdu and of course is a historian. He is a greatly revered person in the district. Despite his old age he was extremely helpful by narrating from his first hand knowledge and from his notes. I express my sincere gratitude to him. I also have to make mention, in the same spirit, of the family of Late Shri Lal Chand Prarthi of Naggar, who once was known as *Kulu-ra-Sher* (Lion of Kullu), specially Shrimati Charu, his daughter, for allowing me to scan through and use some of the rare books from the already much depleted library of (Late) Shri Prarthi. I take here opportunity to express my extreme gratitude to them.

I am greatly indebted to Sh. B. M. Pandei for going through the manuscript thoroughly and suggesting many improvements in the draft, and to Sh. C. Dorje for guiding me in various ways, as ever.

Kullu
October 1999

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The history of the kingdom of Kullu is quite long, running for about 2000 years or may be even more. It constituted one of the leading states among those situated in the Western Himalayan region. Till the early nineteenth century, Banghal (now in Kangra district), part of Saraj (Mandi), Shangri and parts of Rampur Bushahar (Shimla district) and Lahul and Spiti either formed parts of or were tributaries to Kullu. The area appears to have been even larger than this in the ancient times and included the Mandi and Suket states also. Hutchison and Vogel gather from the local tradition that "Kullu state originally included all the territory now in Suket and Mandi. The tradition is current in Suket, Mandi and Bashahr as well as Kullu" (History I : 345, Note 1). Among the immediate neighbouring states, Suket was founded in eighth century AD and Mandi around AD 1000, when during the reign of Sahu Sen, his younger brother, Bahu Sen, left Suket to reside at Manglore (now in Kullu) and founded the state of Mandi.

The present district was carved out from the district of Kangra in 1963 and forms the twelfth district in the State of Himachal Pradesh.

Kullu lies between north latitudes 31°20′ and 32°26′, and east longitudes 76°59′ and 77°50′. It is bound by Lahul and Spiti district on the north and northeast, Kinnaur on the east and southeast, Mandi on the west and southwest, and Banghal region of Kangra district on the northwest. Total geographical area of the district is 5503 sq. kms. with a population of 3,02,432, as per the 1991 census report. Out of this 93 per cent live in rural areas and the rest in towns. 45 percent of the population is literate. During the decade 1911-1921 there was a negative growth rate of 2.22 per cent in the population. The growth rate ranged between 4 to 6 per cent between 1921 and 1961. The decenial growth displayed abrupt increase thereafter which hovered around 25 percent during 1961 and 1981, touching the highest point 26.68 per cent during 1981-91. The growing tourist interest accompanied by increasing economic prosperity in the valley is one of the reasons for the higher demographic growth rate.

The district is divided into five development blocks of Naggar, Kullu, Banjar, Anni and Nirmand or five revenue Tehsils of the same nomenclature. Anni and Nirmand combined is also known as Outer Saraj and Banjar as Inner Saraj.

During the reign of the Rajas, Kullu was divided into five Waziries : Parol, Lag Sari, Lag Maharaj, Rupi and Saraj. The northern extremity of the Beas valley extending southwards from the source of the river Beas along both its banks, was known as Waziri Parol. On the right side, its limit extended upto Fojjal stream an affluent of the Beas. South of the Fojjal stream, the entire right bank upto the Sarvari river, another tributary of the Beas, constituted Waziri Lag Sari; and beyond this on the same side upto Bajaura, touching the boundaries of Mandi state, comprised Waziri Lag Maharaj. On the left or the east bank of the Beas, Waziri Parol extended down to the

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junction of the Beas with the Parvati river, including a part of the Parvati—the watershed between Malana stream, an affluent of the Parvati and the Parvati forming the outer limit. Beyond this upto Sainj was named as Waziri Rupi. The Inner Saraj comprised the entire tract between the Sainj stream on the north and the ridge running through the middle of Saraj from east to west and on the south upto the Tirthan river. The southern portion of the ridge towards the Satluj, comprised outer Saraj.

Each Waziri was further divided into *kothis* which in turn were subdivided into *phatis*, and *phatis* were made up of a circuit of hamlets. Popular belief attributes the introduction of the system to Raja Jagat Singh, though it is also said to have already existed prior to him. Most likely, he brought about some modifications in the revenue administration on the line with Mughal pattern. Terminologies like *bigha, biswa* used in land measurement are borrowed from the Mughal system. *Kothi* was headed by a *Negi* and a *phati* was assigned to one or two *lambardars*. Similar system of division into *kothis* existed in Lahul and Spiti as well. However, they were not subdivided into *phatis* like in Kullu.

The origin of the term *kothi* can be traced from the Sanskrit word *koshthaka*, meaning storehouse or granary. It is stated in the annals of Kullu that before the establishment of the rule of the Rajas, the country was divided into number of small units and was ruled by Thakurs. Gradually, as the Thakurs came under the rule of the Rajas, each Thakurai became a separate administrative unit. The revenue collected in kind from the Thakurai was placed at one place in a *kothi* (*koshthaka* or storehouse) and the area was known as *kothi*. They were individually named after the prominent village or fort like *Kothi* Baragarh, *Kothi* Mandalgarh, etc. In Chamba too, a neighbouring state, each *pargana* contained a state granary (*Kothi*) where the local officers lived and revenue collected in kind was stored. Mention of such granary (*koshthagara*) is found in the copper-plate inscriptions from Chamba. Administrative system of division of the Waziries into *kothis* and *phatis* is indigenous to Kullu, for in the neighbouring district the equivalent term used is *pargana*, again a Mughal term.

The natives of Kullu have their own notion about the division of the area into various segments. While Saraj is known as it is, the main Beas valley is divided into *Balh*, the lower region, and *Ujhi*, the higher region. The division is notional and there is no fixed boundary. Nevertheless, during the time of the Rajas this division was real and practical. The valley above the capital town was termed as *Ujhi* and the one below as *Balh*. Thus, when the capital was at Sultanpur, it was the dividing point. Similarly prior to this, when the capital was at Naggar it constituted the point of division. In reality, people, by convention, still consider Naggar, which formed capital of the state prior to Sultanpur, as the dividing point.

Similarly, the people again divide the area laterally. The tableland at the foothills with rich fertile lands along the length of the river is known as *Balh*. The area above *Balh* and near the mountain top, mostly covered by thick deodar jungles, is known as *gohar* and the inhabitants as *gohari* (residents of the higher regions). The pastures near the mountain peaks where cattle are shifted for grazing in the summer is known as *thatch*. The tract lying between *balh* and the river, which was mostly covered by oak (*korsh*) forest and was formerly uninhabited is known as *bihali*. But after the road line was opened along the riverside, since the British time, settlements grew along the main road and the river.

Presently, National Highway No. 21 linking Leh in Ladak with the National capital of Delhi passes through the main valley alongside the Beas river. The Hindustan-Tibet Road, National Highway No. 22, runs along the Satluj. A number of small roads link the side valleys with the main line. Recently, a number of towns have developed along the highway.

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In ancient times, however, the routes connecting the district with outside world passed through high passes which nowadays have become trekking routes. The Rohtang pass was perhaps the most popular and most frequented pass used by those travelling on foot, shepherds, traders and mule carriers. It lay on the important Central Asian trade route. Rohtang, 3955 metres above sea level, marks the boundary between the Alpine climatic zone of Lahul on its north and the temperate Kullu on the south. The Dalchi pass lies between Bajaura and Kamand in Mandi, which was the route adopted mostly in winter months when the Babbu pass was closed. The Babbu pass between Bhutti in Lag valley of Kullu and Jogindernagar in Mandi was traversed by travellers between Kullu and Kangra or Mandi. From Prini, through the Hamta Pass, shepherds and travellers crossed over to Spiti. A route also lay between Kanawar (Manikaran) and Spiti. Jalori pass linked the two valleys of Kullu-the Beas valley and Outer Saraj, the northern portion of Satluj valley of Kullu, as well as Rampur and Shimla. Bashleo pass between Baghipul and Bathahar was less popular with travellers other than the local residents. Naggar through Chanderkhani pass was connected with Jari, Manikaran valley through Malana.

Beas

Beas, Vipasa in Sanskrit, Hyphasis and Bibasis to the Greeks, originates from Rohtang Pass, situated at the head of the valley at north latitude 32°25′ and east longitude 77°10′ at an elevation of 3955 metres above sea level and flows through the middle of the valley. Enroute it is joined by many powerful rivulets like the Manali, Prini, Fojjal, Jagatsukh, Sarvari, Parvati, Tirthan and Sainj, and emerges as a large river before it leaves the borders of the district at Aut. It is perhaps the best known of all the Punjab rivers. From its source upto Larji the fall is 2965 metres or 24 metres per km. as Cunningham's study reveals.

Traditionally, *kuhls* (water channels) have been drawn from its tributaries for irrigation, running water–mills, as well as for drinking and household use. After the British took over the country, the rivers carried thousands of valuable wooden logs every day down to the plains till recent times when the jungles became depleted. The Beas has shown unpredictable behaviour. Each year, during rainy season it causes great loss to life and wealth. In 1846, Cunningham observed : "All the small streams which feed the Byas, have this year swept down large trees and enormous blocks of stone, along with clay, sand, boulders, and mud, and have deposited a mass of rubbish on the alluvial and cultivated flat on the banks of the Byas" (Cunningham 1848 : 207). This we now observe as an annual feature.

At Bandrol, situated close to the National Highway and at the foot of a hill, once a great landslide took place, burying an entire village. A tale is told about this catastrophe by the people of the district. One night, when the inhabitants of this ill fated hamlet had gone to rest, an old woman appeared seeking shelter. But no one would rouse himself to attend to her. Finally, she departed, and going down the hill came to the hut of a *dagi*, a low caste man, who welcomed her. She then asked for some milk, but the *dagi* explained that being a poor man, he had no cow. Look inside the stable, said the visitor and, behold, there was a beautiful snow white cow, which gave milk, enough for the entire household. In the morning the old woman vanished and the inhospitable village on the hill was burried under the huge landslide. The visitor is said to have been the Spirit of mountains (Forbes 1911 : 71). In a somewhat similar calamity the entire village of Shat in Manikaran valley was washed away in flood in 1994 in which about 60 human lives, large number of cattle, residential houses, household property and cultivated land were lost. The incident of 1995 was the severest in the living memory of the people. Death of more than 100 lives was recorded. Orchards, cultivated land and settlements

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on both sides of the Beas were destroyed on large scale. The road between Manali and Raison was washed away at many places causing permanent damage to the road. Similar floods, but of lesser intensity, are said to have occurred in 1947. Towns and new settlements along the Beas are under constant threat. Traditional settlements are located at safer places on the high tablelands, mountain slopes and on the ridges.

The Valley Beautiful

Kullu attracts thousands of Indian and foreign tourists every year. The valley is endowed with immense natural wealth and scenic beauty. Unexploited environment, perpetual greenery of the deodar and pine jungles, brooks gushing with pure water, snowy mountain peaks, abundant crops and fruit orchards growing on the fertile stretch of land, and above all the honest and cheerful folk are its unique wealth and features. Visitors since ancient times have been appreciating and writing about it open heatedly. Azevedo, a Portuguese Christian missionary, was the first European (1631) to have experienced the beauty of one of the most delightful district in the Himalayas. He remarks, in his journal, "...adorned with an abundance of splendid cedars. The population is numerous and houses very comfortable ... They are people with fine features, the children with their golden hair are very charming, and of women are as white as those of Portugal. It is a curious custom there for every one to wear flowers or odoriferous herbs in their head" (Wessels 1924 : 116). Francis Younghusband (1884) expressed his ecstatic feelings in these words : "And in this favoured valley the people are as charming as their wooded mountains. They are not grave and sedate like the people of the plains. They are brighter and cheerful. Laughter is often on their lips. They love adoring themselves with flowers, and any kind of tamasha – singing, dancing, music - they enjoy like children ... they are a happy, contended, prosperous people, and only ask to be left in peace to cultivate their fields. And the women are so good looking, cheerful and attractive ..." (Younghusband 1924 : 28).

Hieun Tsiang, a Chinese scholar traveller was the forerunner of the legion of such admirers, who visited Kullu sometime between AD 620 and 645 and notes : "The land is rich and fertile and crops are duly sown and gathered. Flowers and fruits are abundant, and the plants and trees afford a rich vegetation. Being contiguous to the snowy mountains, there are found here many medicinal (roots) of much value. Gold, silver and copper are found here - fire drops (crystals) and native copper" (Beal 1884 : 177).

So the number of admirers is ever increasing.

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CHAPTER 2

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF KULLU

Kullu is very rich for its "legends and traditions highly interesting to the students of folklore" as stated by the noted archaeologist Hiranand Shastri; however, it has scanty written records. But it is a matter of much concern that even an elementary survey of the available records about the history of Kullu has not been done, as Postel (1985 : 24) laments.

It is indeed unfortunate that the state records and probably alongwith the original copies of *Vamsavali* of the Kullu *rajas* have been lost by its own officials : "The last Raja of Kullu who died in 1848 had two chamberlains, called Hukmu and Ghoru. They were the keepers of the archives. They fell under suspicion and were summoned from their home. The Raja told them that he had a mind to kill them. 'Slay us if you will, Ruler, but we have left word that if we die, our wives are to burn all the state papers.' The Raja was furious and beheaded both the chamberlains then and there. Then he sent off men to secure the state papers. In the fire were lost not only all the chronicles of Kullu, but also the formula for secret method of extraction of silver mines from ores. Thus the Kullu silver mines were closed down, and the Chamberlains were avenged" (French 1931 : 31). The incident, most probably relates to the time of Raja Jit Singh who died in 1841.

Despite the above incident, it seems that there were at least two copies of the *Vamsavali* extant till the end of the nineteenth century. One of them was utilised partly by Harcourt for his well known work *Himalayan Districts of Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti* (1870). He had also intended to write a separate book on the history of Kullu, based on the above material, which unfortunately could not materialise. He, however, handed over all the original material to the authors of *History of the Punjab Hill States* (1933), and they made use of the material. These documents, as already stated were, only copies, and not original.

Prior to them, Sardar Hardayal Singh had composed a work on the history of Kullu in Urdu "after a great search and investigations", as he himself says. He was an executive in the Punjab Government and also stayed in Kullu for about five years (1875-1880) as a Manager, Court of Wards of Rai Dilip Singh. The work entitled *Majmua Twarikh Riyaste Kohistan Punjab* in three parts is now a rare work. It seems that Harcourt and Hardayal had used two different versions of the *Vamsavali*, since there is a good deal of difference in details at several places in the descriptions of the two authors.

Certain portions of the *Vamsavali* particularly its first half which contains the list of rulers upto circa AD 1400 does not seem to stand the test of scrutiny and corroborative evidence. Hutchison and Vogel, however, remark that, "A careful consideration of the whole question leads to the conclusion that the document is evidently based on an authentic *Vamsavali*, and may be accepted as fairly reliable" (Hist. I, 1933 : 415).

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A problem arises about the spelling and identification of the original and correct names of the Rajas, especially those of the Pala dynasty. One of the reasons is that most probably Sanskrit names were first transcribed in Persian character. It appears that the *Vamsavali* was recompiled during the Mughal period. Therefore besides it being written in Persian character it also carried the impression of the time and some Muslim names also found place in the list. Shastri and Vogel, therefore, remark, "The names Hamir (Arabic *amir*), Surat, Tegh and Sikandar can, of course, never have been borne by rulers of the pre-Muhammadan period." Harcourt was first to utilise the material and his transcription in Roman show the above impression clearly. Hiranand Shastri made corrections in the spellings, but he says, "as far as the Pal dynasty is concerned, the names are necessarily conjectural." The list of the corrected names was later adopted by the authors of the *History of the Punjab Hill States*.

Lal Chand Prarthi, the author of *Kulut Desh ki Kahani*, a work dealing mostly with the legendary aspect of the history of Kullu, was also engaged in writing on the subject; however, he could not complete the work on the actual history of the state.

There exists a local work named *Kulantapitha*, said to be quite ancient, having bearing on the history of Kullu and often referred to by scholars. This work, however, was difficult of access and only a few scholars like Hiranand Shastri could lay their hand on it. There has also been some confusion among the scholars about this work. A leading scholar remarked that "Lately *Kulantapitha Mahatmaya* has been translated by Penelope Chetwode in her book on *Kullu–The End of Habitable World*." Chetwode, however, states in the particular work itself, "I subsequently learnt that the priests of Manikaran own an ancient Sanskrit manuscript called *Kulantapitha Mahatmya*, believed to be a part of the *Brahmanda Purana*. It describes the geography of Kullu and the adventures of the classical, as opposite to the folk gods" (Chetwode 1972 : 72). The work was ultimately edited, translated into Hindi and got published by Pandita Chandershekhar Bebas in 1988 in *Somsi*, a quarterly journal of the Himachal Pradesh Academy of Art, Language and Culture, Shimla. The scholars do not find the work to be of much use as a historical document.

The *mohras* of *devis* and *devatas*, some of which were granted by the Rajas, contain inscriptions with dates and yield valuable historical information. These are, of course, well preserved in the village temples. But they need to be studied and documented urgently. The following inscriptions are so far known :

Sr. No.	*Name of Devi/Devata*	*Name of Raja*	*Date (AD)*
1.	Devi Sujuni, Nirmand	—	1026
2.	Temple inscription, Sandhya Devi, Jagatsukh	Udhran Pal	1428
3.	Vishnu mask, Sajla	Sidh Pal	1500
4.	Hidimba Devi Temple, Dhungri, Manali	Bahadur Singh	1553
5.	Devi Bhaga-Sidh mask, Pini, Kothi Kais	Parvat Singh	1575
6.	Deo Dhumval in Syal, Kothi Chong	Prithi Singh	1608
7.	Deo Chirmal, Nagain, Kothi Kotkandi	Prithi Singh	1608-1635

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Sr. No.	*Name of Devi/Devata*	*Name of Raja*	*Date (AD)*
8.	Narayan mask of Chamahan, Kothi Kais	Bidhi Singh	1688
9.	Mahadev mask, Jvani, Kothi Raison	Man Singh	1712
10.	Kapilmuni of Basauna, Kothi Kotkandi	Man Singh	—
11.	Devi Kotali mask at Soyal, Kothi Barsayi	Raj Singh	1729
12.	Narayan mask, Chamahan, Kothi Kais	Jaya Singh	1731
13.	Adi Brahma mask, Khokhan	Tedhi Singh	1746
14.	Hardas mask of Manikaran	Vikram Singh	1802-1807

(Shastri 1911 : 274-276; Postel 1985 : 24-25)

The following is the additional information culled from Mahashya (1996 : 166)

1.	Bhaga Sidh mask, Pini	Pratap Singh	1575
2.	Vishnu mask, Sajla	Bidhi Singh	1672
3.	Darbasa, Palgi Dhara	Jagat Singh	—
4.	Sringa Rishi, Banjar	Tedhi Singh	1753
5.	Darbasa, Palgi	Raj Singh	1729
6.	Devi Kutli, Palgi	Raj Singh	1729
7.	Kapil Muni, Vashohna	Jaya Singh	1729
8.	Gumal, Shat	Prithi Singh	—

The inscriptions at serial numbers 5, 6 and 7 possess the same date, although they belong to two different Rajas : Jaya Singh (1731-1742) and Raj Singh (1719-1731).

Other sources for the history of Kullu may be classified as under :

(i) References in the ancient classical literature viz. *Mahabharata, Ramayana,* the *Puranas* and other literary works about Kuluta, either as a people or region, indicate their antiquity and also the important place they occupy in the history of India.

(ii) A few coins discovered relating to the ancient tribal kingdom of Kulutas provide useful information about the ancient history of Kullu. Hardyal reports that Raja Pritam Singh issued coins dedicated to emperor Aurangzeb but the fact is not supported by any other source nor has any specimen come to light.

(iii) References available in the inscriptions on copper plates, temple structures, stone slabs, found locally in good number. The inscriptions of Nirmand copper plate and *mohra* of *devi* Sujuni, also of Nirmand, are of the earliest period. Inscriptions on *mohras* after AD 1500 are more numerous. Research in the direction could bring out much tangible information.

(iv) The Rajas made regular grants of lands etc. to their important subjects on important occasions and issued letters for record. Copies of a few of these are available. Shastri

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remarks : "The *kardar* or manager of the Sita Ram temple at Gojra, Kothi Jagatsukh also possesses some *sanads*. They are said to be dated between *Sastra samvat* 95 and 5 i.e. between AD 1719-1729, but I have not been able to inspect them" (Shastri 1911 : 271 : Note 1).

(v) During the seventeenth century, between AD 1650 and 1658, the Mughal emperors issued some *farmans* or official letters in the names of Kullu Rajas. These are counted seventeen in all. A few of them are still available.

(vi) Records of the European travellers go back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The record of Kuluta by Hieun Tsiang, a Chinese traveller of the seventh century AD is the earliest of such records and as such is the most important. Some Tibetan lama pilgrims passing through Kullu have made references to Kullu but except this no details could be found in their records.

(vii) Remains of temples practically in each village possesses valuable historical data.

(viii) Official records of the British period like settlement reports, gazetteers, area studies, official correspondences, provide copious material.

(ix) Unwritten records of legends, folklore and many other forms of oral folk literature provide useful historical information.

(x) Specimens of Pahari miniature painting of the eighteenth-nineteenth century also contain useful material.

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CHAPTER 3

KULLU : ETYMOLOGY

Of the various names applied for the country of Kullu, as it is known now, the local *Vamsavali* refers to it as Makrah. In ancient literature, however, the country is known as Kuluta. The use of the name Kulantpith was restricted only to the book bearing the same name or is referred to in some local tradition. While the town of Kullu came to be known as such only in the early twentieth century, the country was known by this name even prior to the seventeenth century. Azevedo who visited Kullu in 1631 calls the country as Cullu i.e. Kullu. The Tibetan Siddha lama traverllers used their own term Nyungti or sometimes Kuluta in their travelogues.

The people of Kullu as well as their neighbours, except those on the north, know their own country by the name of Kullu, and the Kullu town which includes the suburbs of Sultanpur, Akhara Bazar, Sarvari and Dhalpur, as *Shahr* (literally town, pronounced as Shahra). *Shahr* originally represented only Sultanpur, the capital of Kullu, as is also evident from the following local saying : *"uare shahr, pare akhare ri hati"* : on this side is the town and opposite to this are the shops of Akhara (Diack 1896 : 36). *Shahr*, an Urdu word, meaning market, indicates its significance also as marketing place, besides being the capital place of the Rajas. The name Sultanpur could never be popular among the local inhabitants, even though the word Sultanpur too belongs to the same category as *Shahr*. Vogel remarks that "Kullu people have not owned the Mohammedan name Sultanpur".

Popular belief is that Sultanpur was founded by Sultan Chand, who ruled over the territory of Lag. He made it his capital and named as Sultanpur. Raja Jagat Singh conquered it from the last *raja* of Lag, Jog Chand, brother of Sultan Chand and made it his capital, retaining, however, Naggar, as his summer palace. Vogel, however, suggests that, "it was not the defeated Raja of Lag, but the victorious Chief of Kulu, who gave his name to the modern capital" (Vogel 1957 : 199). His argument is based on the fact that in the copper plate inscription of Ramapati of Chamba, Raja Bahadur Singh bears the title of *surtrana-raja*, the royal appellation which is frequently met with in the Sanskrit inscriptions for Arabic Sultan. Thus Raja Jagat Singh too might have borne another name viz., Sultan Singh. Vogel also maintains that the last Raja of Lag is referred to as Jok (Jog) Chand and not Sultan Chand in the *sanad* issued by Dara Shikoh addressed to Raja Jagat Singh (Vogel 1957 : 194-203).

In view of the above it may be surmised that the present name Sultanpur was given by Jagat Singh though there is no doubt that the place was already well established and was the capital of the rulers of Lag. The territory of Lag comprised the entire area on the right bank of the river Beas starting from Fojjal Nala to Bajaura - Waziri Lag Sari and Lag Maharaja - under an independent line of rulers till its acquisition by Jagat Singh in AD 1650. It was quite a strong state as we observe from the history of Mandi and Kullu. It offered stiff resistance against

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single force of its enemies viz. Kullu and Mandi, therefore at one time the two powers had to put united force against Lag in order to control its growing power.

Located in the middle of the country of Lag, Sultanpur is the most convenient place for capital and *raja's* palace. The tableland, triangular in shape, spread over on area of about 4-6 kilometers, rises straight from the level of the river bed for about 25-30 metres on two sides; on the third, the north-western side, the hill rises steeply towards Bhekli. It is thus like an impregnable natural fort protected from all the sides. Raja Jagat Singh had therefore to fight a very tough war with Jog Chand or Sultan Chand. The town was enclosed by wall on all the sides of which the remnants including those of the old gates and streets can still be seen.

Jagat Singh must also then have built a temple at Sultanpur wherein Raghunanath was installed. The place therefore also came to be known as Raghunathpur as Cunningham (1841 : 3) affirms. The old palace and the temple collapsed in the earthquake of 1905 and in around 1910 the palace was repaired and a new temple was also built (French 1931 : 24).

Hardyal says that from Ayodhya Raghunathji was first brought to Makrahar i.e. Naggar and from there to Sultanpur. There is also a tradition that the Kullu Rajas used to visit Manikaran frequently and stay there for a few days to pay homage to Raghunathji (Singh 1980;). It is, therefore, highly possible that Raghunathji was initially installed at the holy place of Manikaran and was shifted later on from there to the capital town of Kullu.

Naggar

Naggar became the capital of the state around AD 1500 during the rule of Raja Sidh Singh and continued to be so till around 1650 when the capital was shifted to Sultanpur by Jagat Singh. It, however, continued to be used as a summer palace by subsequent rulers when the British took over the reign of Kullu Raj in 1846. The palace was then purchased by Major Hay, the first Assistant Commissioner (1853–57), who later on sold it to the government. Later, it was transferred to the tourism department and is now used as a tourist hotel. The connections of the Rajas with the palace were never severed even after the transfer of the capital since we find that the commemorative stones raised after the death of the Rajas and Ranis were always erected only at Naggar and no similar remains have been discovered at Sultanpur or elsewhere.

The castle of the Rajas, a model of local architecture in wood and stone and sloping slate roof, still stands at Naggar in fine condition. Major Hay repaired a portion of the castle. Then a portion of it was again repaired in 1999. The architectural aspect of the monument was studied in detail by Howard (1995 : 108–113). There is a strong belief that Thawa was the actual site of the capital, rather than the location of the present castle, as the vast ruins visible till 1900 indicated. "The popular belief is that a large extent of ruin, termed Thawa, some little distance up the hill-side to the east of the castle, was the actual city of olden times" (Gazetteers 1899 : 124). The ruins have now been removed and the evidence supporting the above proposition is fading away to simple belief.

Naggar appeared on the international map in 1928 when Russian scholar Nikolai Roerich (1874-1947), an internationally renowned figure, chose the place for his stay there. He purchased the Hall Estate from the Raja of Mandi. For 20 years Naggar was the center of his creativity where he founded the Urusvati Institute of Research, with the assistance of scholars drawn from several nations and started the publication of *Urusvati*, a scientific journal of research. He was specially fascinated by the ever mystic world of the Himalayas, which remained his major subject of profound studies till his death.

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Kullu

Sultanpur or the town of kullu did not receive the present nomenclature of Kullu till sometime after 1900 since the *Gazetteer of Kangra District* (1987) mentions it as 'Sultanpur' and records "Sultanpur is the headquarters of the Kullu tehsil ... The population is a little under 4,000 souls" (p. 123). The population figure indicates that it refers to entire town of Kullu.

The Lahulis, the immediate neighbours in the north across the formidable Rohtang Pass, use several terms separately for Kullu town, the country and its inhabitants. Makarsa and Sultanpur are found in the literary records, inscriptions and local usage in Lahul. The most dangerous and the largest ravine near Rohtang Pass on the side of Kullu, also known as La-lunpa or Rani Nallah, is called in the dialect of Manchad (Pattan) as Magarsa Nalla, i.e. Magarsa ravine, indicating that Magarsa stands for Kullu. In the same dialect Ram-di designates the Kullu country, and Sara (Sarang = locative for Sara), another corrupt form of Shahr (town), for Kullu town and the inhabitants of the country as Ku-za. In the dialect of Punan the country is known as Ku-zu and the town as Gyalsa. In the dialect of sTod the country is known as Nyungti, its inhabitants as Mon and the town as Gyalsa (literally capital town). All these three latter terms are employed by the people of Spiti, Ladak, Zanskar and Tibet as well. Thus from the small country of Lahul we are able to get, so many different names for Kullu and its people.

Akhara Bazar

Akhara was most probably till around 1850 an unoccupied vacant plain. The migrants from Lahul and other cold areas stayed during their winter transhumance; the itinerant *sadhus* made temporary sojourn during their routine journey to the Himalayas and holy places; and it was a seasonal market place for migrant traders from Hoshiarpur, Pathankot, Kangra, Lahul, Ladak, etc. A usual local poetical expression remarks about the settlement :

Khare vasen Lahuli, Dhalpur Saraji;
Desh pariuta marie jhurie, nahin rahi jineri baji.

Let the Lahulis live in Akhara, the Sarajis in Dhalpur : the world is spoilt for me, my love, there remains no object for living (Diack 1896 : 16).

The place, although plain is risky for settlement, being situated on the bank of the river Beas and prone to floods during the rainy season. However, it gradually developed as a regular market and the traders started settling here permanently, and today it is the largest trading centre in the entire Kullu district.

Dhalpur

Of the other suburbs of Kullu town, Dhalpur was merely a small village. But the large ground of Dhalpur Maidan served several purposes like the *chaugans* in front of the palaces of most of the Hill Rajas, viz. Mandi, Nahan, Chamba, etc. The Dussehra festival of Kullu, which is held at Dhalpur has attained international fame.

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Makarsa

The *vamsavali* designates the state of Kullu in its most ancient times as Makrah and its capital town as Makarsa. V1 and V2, both give detailed account of the origin of these two ancient terms. Location of Makarsa, the original site of the founding of the kingdom is identified with a place near Hurla or Garsa on the left bank of Beas opposite Bajaura. It is supposed to have been founded in first century BC/AD. The place, however, appears to have been abandoned soon and a new capital was founded at Jagatsukh. Bahadur Singh (AD 1532-1559) is said to have reoccupied the place and latter on "carved stones were used in British time for construction of Delashni bridge and some others", perhaps from the ruins of the palace.

Although the place was abandoned soon after it was founded, the name has survived and continued to be in use even now.

The name Magarsa for the kingdom still survives in Lahul. From Lahul, again the Chronicles of Tinan record that the capital of king Bahadur Singh is situated at Magarsa (Francke 1907, II : 213). Another document from Lahul states that the residence of the king Parbat Singh is situated at Magarsa (Tobdan and Dorje 1996 : 23). These documents clearly refer to Naggar since during those times Naggar was the capital of Kullu. The European travellers have also identified Magrsa or Makarsa with Naggar, although some others have tried to disprove this fact. In 1631, Azevedo identified Magarsa, perhaps with Naggar, as the capital of Kullu.

Moorcroft clearly identifies Makarsa with Naggar, which he passed through after crossing the capital Sultanpur in 1820 while going towards Leh. He notes "...we passed a house belonging to the Raja on our right, situated on an eminence at the foot of which stood the ancient capital of Kulu, called Makarsa, a few houses and all that remain of it, as the removal to Sultanpur took place about three centures ago (Moorcroft 1841, I : 184).

Kulantpith

It is claimed that Kulantpith was the original name of the area and gradually it became corrupted to form Kulu or Kullu. However, the scholars do not accept this proposition for several reasons. Kulantpith is interpreted to mean the "end of the inhabited or inhabitable world." Considering the mountainous character of the district in which many of the highest peaks well over five thousand metres above the sea level, and considering also the desolation of Lahul and Spiti which lie beyond Kullu, this explanation may well appeal to the popular imagination, but there is no authority to recommend it (Postel 1985 : 23). It is also argued that "phonetically the change of Kulantpitha into Kulu is an impossibility and the derivation should therefore be treated as an instance of popular etymology (Shastri 1911 : 260).

The claim of the book that it forms a part of the Brahmanda Purana has also been proved incorrect (Postel 1985 : 23). The work also does not find place in any lexicon or in the literature.

Kaula, Kol, Koli

Some scholars have suggested the etymology of the term Kullu from Sanskrit Kaula, meaning Devi worshippers, while others trace it to the caste names of Kol and Koli. However "these derivations are evidently fanciful and must be set aside" (Shastri 1911 : 260).

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Thomas Watters traces the origin of 'Kulu' to the word 'Kula' to which he assigns the meaning 'a heap' and also cites an instance from the Chinese description of a Buddhist monument. "As the Sanskrit word Kula means, alongwith other things a heap or collection, the Kuluta country is perhaps the 'Chi-Chi or 'Accumulation district' of the Samat Vinaya. Buddha goes from the Tamsavana to the Chi-Chi district where he converts and receives into his church a Yaksha who afterwards builds a monastery. The district also obtained a relic of the Buddha's body for which a tope was built called 'Chi-Chi Tope' (Watters 1904 : 299). This suggestion though ingenuous, would require more evidence to support it.

Kuluta

Scholars generally agree that the word Kullu is derived from the ancient name Kuluta which was the name of the people inhabiting the upper Beas valley and elsewhere, as early as the first century of the Christian era. The name is preserved in early Sanskrit literature and is also attested to from numismatic evidence.

Identification of Hieun Tsiang's *Kiu-lu-to* with the modern Kullu is confirmed by all modern scholars. Hieun Tsiang places the chief town of Kuluta 700 *li* i.e. 186 km northwest of Jalandhara which as we learn from the mediaeval Tibetan lama travellers is the modern Kangra (Nagarkot). Taking 186 km from Kangra we can locate the middle of the chief town somewhere in the lower Kullu. Sultanpur was founded quite late. Makarsa, the most ancient capital of Kullu, is presently identified with a place near Hurla opposite Hat or Bajaura. At Bajaura, there stands the ancient Visvesvara Mahadeva temple of eighth-ninth century AD which is the earliest temple in the district. There were two temples at Bajaura, instead of one, and there are quite likely that there may have been many more temples and even large old settlement. The Nalla flowing through the modern settlement might have covered up the temples under the debris of flood alongwith the settlement.

Hieun Tsiang gives the dimensions of the chief town as about 14 or 15 *li* or say 16 square kilometers. Such a description suits in whole of Kullu only for Bajaura since the area is flat plain and quite wide as well. No place of antiquity coinciding with the description is also found elsewhere in Kullu. It may also be noted that the area is located on the border of the Mandi district. We have already observed that ancient Kullu encompassed quite large, if not the entire, portion of Mandi; we may perhaps suggest that in those days Mandi and Kullu constituted one state. The Chinese scholar traveller also observed caves where the monks and saints meditated. At present no cave have been noticed in Kullu except at Riwalsar in Mandi which is presently worshipped by the Buddhists.

Kuluta was widely known and also by different names to the Chinese Buddhists, most probably due to its importance as one of the chief Buddhist pilgrimage places in the Jambudvipa. Therefore, "in the Fang Chih the name of this country is given as *Ku-lu-to-o*, and also Ku-lu-lo" (Watters 1904 : 298), besides the third term *Ku-lu-to*, as we know.

Tibetan literature has preserved the name Kuluta since ancient times signifying it as one among the most sacred places which every faithful Buddhist would endeavour to visit at least once in his lifetime. It was in fact taken up directly from the Indian Buddhist tradition, but it appears that the significance of the place remained confined to only in legend as by the time Tibetans realised its importance i.e. by the tenth-eleventh century AD, Kullu alongwith many other similar countries had lost the Buddhist status.

In fact the process of metamorphosis of the ancient term of Kuluta into the modern Kullu or

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Kulu has been fully transcribed by the learned lama travellers in their travelogues. The famed Siddha lama rGod-tshang-pa (AD 1189-1258) came from Tibet through the Mount Kailash, lake Mansarovar, Purang, Spiti, Lahul, Chamba and finally to Jalandhar (= Nagarkot = Kangra) where he also visited Bhagsu (Bhagsunath) and Jawalamukhi. On his return journey, he went through Kullu which he records as Kuluta. He says : "On the upward journey visited Kuluta. Met with the disciple of Siddha and Acharya Anupal". He remained in these areas of Himachal Pradesh for four years between AD 1214 and 1218.

sTag Tshang Repa (AD 1574-1651), another famed lama from Tibet, whose religious activities were concentrated in Ladakh, Lahul and Zanskar, also records the name Kuluta. However he did not visit the land personally. Lama gNag-dbang Tshering (AD 1657-1730) of Zanskar spent much time in visiting these holy places in Himachal Pradesh. He visited Kullu sometimes in AD 1685. He recognised the area as Kullu, instead of as Kuluta, and also as Nyungti.

According to the *Samvaratantra*, the twenty-four holy places in the Jambudvipa are presided over by 24 Viras and they correspond to different parts of Vajrakaya. In the *mandala* scheme this Kuluta corresponds to the knees (Tucci 1935 : 41-43). These twenty-four places are spread all over India and some of them lay beyond the present boundaries of India. But with the shrinking down of religious and political limits of the country these sacred places came to be identified within the country and at present most of them are confined to the Himalayan region. However Kuluta exists in the original list of the countries which undoubtedly stands for modern Kullu. A few Tibetan works preserving the name of Kuluta are Shambhali' Lamying (Guide book to Shamabhala), Padma bka' Thang (biography of Guru Padmasambhava), Zamling Gyashad (Geography of the World), etc. Zamling Gyashad identifies Kuluta once with Khunu (Kinnaur) and another with Suket. This is apparently due to lack of minute geographical knowledge of the Indian Himalayan countries on the Indian side on the part of the author. However he had derived the name of Kuluta from among the most important places in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition and he very well recognised the importance of the place.

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CHAPTER 4

DEVATAS

Kullu is also known as the 'Valley of Gods' despite the fact that gods are worshipped all over Himachal Pradesh. This is because the tradition of worshipping gods is very ancient in the valley and the number of gods is quite large-more than 300. Some have attempted to give the exact figure as 360 or 365 or 368. However these figures are only estimates. Each village has a god, in some villages there may be two or more gods. The form of worship of gods is different and unique here. Here the gods act as moving beings rather than being statues fixed within the temple. Each god has his own temple but they are generally devoid of any statue.

Gods are represented by *rathas* (palanquins), studded with metallic *mohras* (faces), adorned with variegated cloth lengths and flowers, and lifted on the shoulders by two men. Women have hardly any role to play in the affairs of the gods. The *rathas* are accompanied by band of devata's musicians, attendants, followers and carriers of symbols of royal or divine artifacts, etc. The *rathas* often become animated or possessed of spirits and show various human moods and behaviour like anger through rushing frantically, or happiness by dancing in a leisurely manner, meeting with the fiends, etc. besides actually speaking through the medium of *gurr* (priest) and answering to various queries of the devotees.

Fa-Hien (AD 400) gives description of a similar scene being enacted in Khotan : "the priests of the Gomati temple, belonging to the Greater vehicle, first take their images in procession, the chief image is then placed upright in the centre of the carriage, with two Boddhisattvas in attendance, and surrounded by all the devas ..." (Beal 1869 : 10). Hieun Tsiang, who visited Kullu in AD 645, has not described any similar scenes, but he definitely witnessed "fifteen deva temples", perhaps similar to those seen today.

The gods of Kullu can be classified into three classes. The first are the ancient *rikhis* and pious women of epic character. The second type belong to the Naga (serpent) class, and the third must be the tribal chiefs or heroes.

There are stories about how the gods were born or how a particular god came to be supported. For example, once a woman from Bagi village was collecting pine needles, as people do for spreading in the sheds under the cattle, when her *tohu* (rake) struck with a golden *mohra*. She brought it to the village and the *mohra* was identified as Shringa Rikhi. Thus a god was born and latter followed the establishment of the temple, *ratha*, etc.

Tharah Karadu, Tharah Narayan

There is a famous saying in Kullu about the gods : *tharah karadu, tharah Narayan*. Narayan, of course, stands for Vishnu who is worshipped as a god in many villages. *Tharah* literally stands

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for eighteen, but scholars have interpreted it in several ways : as multitude or an auspicious number, etc. Inference may be drawn therefrom that there were originally eighteen gods (A list of the eighteen original gods is given in Appendix IV). The term *'karadu'* similarly has been given several meanings. Molu Ram Thakur translates the term in the phrase *'tharah karadu ri soh'* as 'place of eighteen crore devtas' (Thakur 1981 : 60), meaning thereby crore. Prarthi means by it 'basket' and gives its variants as *kardu, kardi, karandi, kandi* (Prarthi 1971 : 23). About the origin of the phrase *'tharah karadu'*, he gives the following story from the folk tradition :

Jamdagni, a great sage, was coming via Spiti after completing the pilgrimage to Kailash mountain. From the Hamta pass, he moved towards the Malan village, and reached Chanderkhani pass. The great sage was carrying images of eighteen gods in a basket. A strong wind blew on the mountain pass so that all the images scattered here and there in all the directions and there appeared as many gods. Thereafter for each god a separate basket was manufactured. The illustration, of course, makes the meaning clear that *karadu* stands for basket. This we can understand from another example also from the local tradition.

In Kullu generally the images of the devatas are taken out in procession decked on a *ratha*. But some *devatas* are also carried in baskets on the shoulder or head of a man. This is called *'karadu'* or basket. People also know some gods whose *rathas* were made only a few years back and earlier they were carried in baskets. 'Basket' is the real meaning of the term *'karadu'*, and its origin may be traced in the Sanskrit word *'karanda'*, meaning basket.

Naga

Kullu is a great centre of a *naga* worship. An entire class of the gods belongs to this category. Just as there is the story of *'tharah karadu, tharah narayan'*, there is a term of *'tharah nag'*, and there is similarly a story about the origin of the *nagas* in Kullu (Prarthi 1971 : 134; Vogel 1926 : 256). These *nagas* worshipped in Kullu are the offspring of baski or *basu* (*vasuki*), as the ancient serpent king is commonly called by the people. Vogel (1926 : 256-257) tells the story in the following manner :

In times past, a little more than five thousand years ago, it happened in the village of Gosal in which the temple of Gotam Rikhi stands, that a certain peasant woman who was the wife of a man of Kanet caste, having donned red clothes, went onto the roof of her house to have a look at the corn which had been placed there to dry; and on account of the cool breeze that woman fell asleep on the top of the roof. Now by chance while she was sleeping, Baski Nag saw her and at once fell in love with her. Changing himself into the shape of a man, Baski Nag carried her off through the air and reached the upper regions. But he told her never to raise the hair of his head with her hand. Once when the Nag had fallen asleep with his head resting on her lap, the woman, in spite of what he had told her, raised the hair of his head. At the moment the woman looking down from the upper region beheld her own house and fields and at the sight she began to weep. As soon as her tears fell on the face of Baski Nag he woke up. Then he made her his wife, and thereupon he said to her : "whatever will be born from thy womb though must worship". After he had spoken these words she found herself again on the roof of her own house.

Now after nine months had gone by, once on a single day she gave birth to eighteen snakes. She put them in a large earthen pot called in Kullu *'Bhandal'*. In that pot she made eighteen separate holes, and putting the milk of her own breast into a vessel, she nursed the snakes, each through his own hole, and for many days paid worship to them with incense. Now after some

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four or five months she had to go to the house of her parents. Then she said to her mother-in-law : "Do thou pay worship to these snakes during my absence."

After she had left, her mother-in-law on the next day put incense in a large iron spoon, placed fire on it, and went near the snakes to pay worship to them. On hearing her coming, the snakes thrust their heads through the holes. At the sight of the snakes, the mother-in-law dropped the spoon containing the incense upon which fire had been placed in order to produce the smoke in such manner that the incense with fire fell in the pot in which the snakes were kept. In consequence thereof the snakes escaped from the pot and fled in all directions. Out of the total number of eighteen snakes two went to Mandi and Suket, and two appeared in the district of Lahul.

On this occasion, it is said, one of the Nagas, had one eye burned and is therefore known as *Kana Naga* (one eyed serpent). He remained in the spot and is still worshipped at the village Gosal in the temple of Gotam Rikhi who is sometimes also described as Nag. The vessel in which the offspring of Baski Nag were kept by their mother may still be seen in the temple of Gotam Rikhi.

As to the names of the eighteen nagas, there is some difference of opinion among the Kullu people, but most account agree in including Sargan (or Sirgan) Naga and Phahal Nag of Kothi Jagatsukh, Dhumal Nag of Kothi Baragarh, Piyuli (yellow) Nag and Basu Nag considered different from Baski Nag both of kothi Naggar, Kali Nag of Kothi Raison and Mahuti Nag of Kothi Kais. Some authorities include three more Naga from Kothi Kais, namely Ramnu (or Rumnu) Nag, Sargun (Sargan) Nag and Sakli Nag. All the Kothis concerned belong to Upper Kullu, but it is said in the above legend that some of the eighteen *nagas* found refuge in the adjoining hill tracts.

Vogel has estimated that the total number of *nagas* which are worshipped in Kullu is considerably greater than eighteen, and indeed, must come upto about four times that figure.

It would appear that the two phrases or legends viz. *'tharah karadu, tharah Narayan'* and *'tharah karadu, tharah Nag'* are overlapping. It appears that the latter phrase was the original and the former was substituted when Vaishnavism was introduced in the country. The worship of *devatas* and Nagas is an ancient tradition, the meaning of which is hidden in the phrase itself.

Paras Ram

Paras Ram is an epic character. He is believed to have visited Kullu much before the founding of the kingdom. He settled here five villages, one of which is Nirmand, on the right bank of Satluj, where he is revered till today as god. He must have reigned supreme before the advent of Raghunathji. Interesting ancient traditions and customs like the Bhunda festival, celebrated after a gap of twelve years with which is also connected the legend of human sacrifice or animal sacrifice, survives at Nirmand till today.

Jamlu

'Jamlu is one of the mightiest of the godlings of Kulu'. Malana, a remote and secluded village, is his abode. This aloofness enables him to maintain independence for himself and his subjects. There are several other abodes of Jamlu, either representing himself or some other minor god of the same name, in the district, viz. Kulang, Shangchar, Bari, Hamta, Prini, Jagatsukh,

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Karja, Soyal, Bahrka, Chajogi, Chhani, Shegli, Darpoin, etc. Jamlu is 'said to be brother of Gepang, the god of Lahul (Diack 1896 : 39).

About the independence of Jamlu it is said 'Jamlu neither paid tribute to the Raghunath temple at Sultanpur, nor attended at that temple, his respects on the Dussehra, as most of other Kulu *devatas* were compelled to do' (Rose 1883, III : 266). There are some other gods also who do not attend the Dussehra *viz.* those of Bhekhli, Puid, Bhalyani, Jiva Narayan of Jana, Vasunag of Hallan, Prashar of Kamand, etc

Jamlu does not have *ratha*. Whether the temple of Jamlu houses any statue, there is a difference of opinion. A legend is connected with Akbar, the Emperor, and it was for this reason that some scholars like Penelope believed that at Malana there was a 'minute golden image of Akbar' (1972 : 94). Others believe that there is an elephant model gifted by Akbar. There is a custom in Kullu to offer small models of golden or silver statues of animals such as horse or elephant to the gods as a present for fulfilling their wishes, or giving grants to them.

Mr. G.M. Young visited Malana in 1911 (Young 1982 : 168–181) and saw the full process of the annual fair on 12th *Phagun* (3rd March 1911) in which the statue and many other objects belonging to *devata* Jamlu were exhibited publicly. He gives description of the scene : "All was now ready for the appearance of Akbar. The pujari stooped to the bundle which he had brought and swiftly took out a silver or gilt statuette about four inches high, apparently a naked figure of a very primitive workmanship. He held it on the palm of his hand. From his bundle he produced twelve more very small images of horses and elephants, evidently the rest of the Akbar's gift." Young had, however, no opportunity to examine the statuette closely as to what were its attributes and what god it exactly represented. He believes that the rite is older than the Akbar legend and "the statues, whoever actually presented them, may in the course of time have become so identified with the performance that the sacrifice is now made to Akbar who has the advantage over Jamlu of a visible representative."

Raghunatha

Raghunatha is the chief deity who presides over the Dussehra festival and other gods come in Dussehra and pay homage to him. It is said that once all the gods of Kullu, numbering around 360, attended the *mela* but the number kept on dwindling with the passage of time. Harcourt noted that 70 or 80 gods attended the *mela* in circa AD 1870; and in 1995 and 1996 the number was reported around 120 and 130, respectively. This is due to the efforts made by the government.

The statue of Raghunathaji was brought from Ayodhya during the reign of Jagat Singh in the middle of seventeenth century. At the same time Vaishnavism was also introduced in the state.

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CHAPTER 5

TEMPLES

One observes at least one *dehra* or temple in each village wherein resides a god or goddess and sometimes two, a god and a goddess. *Devatas* in Kullu number more than three hundred, so must be the number of temples. Besides, there are others which are not connected with any *devata*, and are therefore currently out of use. Ancient stone temples belong to this class. Structurally, the temples of Kullu may be grouped in three classes : *Sikhara, Pagoda* and *Dehra*. They also show different phases of development of temple architecture in the district. Clearly, the first two styles appear to have been introduced from outside whereas the third group is considered entirely indigenous and also the most ancient style, even though no specimen of any great age has been found.

(I) SIKHARA

The most ancient model of temples preserved in Kullu is of *Sikhara* style. This model of the northern Indian plains is believed to have been introduced into the Himalayan regions sometimes during seventh-eighth century AD. In Kullu, the Visvesvara Mahadeva temple of Bajaura of the eighth-ninth century AD is the oldest of this kind as well as the oldest among the temples in Kullu. In Himachal Pradesh, these temples are attributed to the Gurjara-Pratiharas of the eighth-ninth century AD who ruled over an extensive empire from Kanauj. It differs from the temples in the plains since there is no pillared hall (*mandapa*) attached to as there usually is in the plains.

About Kashmir it is said that "The Kashmiri style evolved under Lalitaditya, then refined under the patronage of Avantivarman and Shankarvarman (Singh 1968 : 131). Taranatha, a Tibetan scholar, suggests how the Central Indian art spread to Kashmir and then an indigenous form of art was born there : "In Kashmir also was followed the traditions of early central art of the old western art" (Chattopadhyaya 1970 : 348). Later, Kashmir developed its own form and came to be known as Kashmir art which also had its extension towards other regions in the western Himalayas.

Harcourt describes sixteen temples in *sikhara* style in Kullu (Harcourt 1972 : 60). These are Manglore-1, Bajaura-1, Makrah-1, Manikaran-1, Sultanpur-1, Naggar-4, Chhaki-1, Sarsai-2, Jagatsukh-2, Basishtha-1, Shuru-1. The geographical location of such temples is spread evenly throughout the district. However, their concentration is greater in the main Beas valley. Although in Nirmand, in the Satluj valley, we find only some ancient prototypes of such temples, it was the most important and ancient site in Kullu. "These Shikhara temples were believed to have been introduced at Nirmand between the seventh and eleventh century and the shrine near the temple of Chandi Devi may be regarded as a representative example" (Gurdas Sarkar 1922 : 48).

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The above list is not exhaustive and a systematic effort would definitely help in adding some more names in the list. At Bajaura, instead of one, there were two temples. At least two sites have been reported where the remains of ancient stone temple structures have been found. At Manikaran too there are two *sikhara* temples, one devoted to Raghunatha and the other to Ramachandra. There might have been similar temples at other places as well. Some of the temples given in the list above are no longer extant. There is no *sikhara* temple at Raghunathapura which might have collapsed in the 1905 earthquake. At Manglor it is in ruins, which might also have yielded to the earthquake. The inhabitants of the village, however, take the ruins of the temple to that of a *raja's* palace and have no knowledge that such a temple ever existed there. Such temples at Sultanpur, Manikaran and some others may be assigned to seventeenth century AD when the statue of Raghunathaji was established. Vogel says that these were "mostly founded about the middle of the seventeenth century when Raja Jagat Singh made Vaishnavism the state religion of Kulu."

Bajaura : At Bajaura, in the lower Beas valley stands the temple dedicated to Visvesvara Mahadeva, assigned to eighth-ninth century AD. Mandanjit Singh also assigns the same date to the Khakhnal temple which also houses a multiheaded statue of Karttikeya (Singh 1968 : 130-131). The Bajaura temple is famous not only in Kullu but also in entire Himachal Pradesh. It is located away from the town, unlike the modern temples which are located either in the middle of or very close to the settlements. It is not associated with any local god, nor is there any practice of paying services at the temple. Vogel says that it was in use for daily worship even after AD 1910. An inscription of Raja Shyam Sen of Mandi (1664-1679) who made a grant of land to the temple has been found here. Cunningham (1848 : 207) informs that when he visited Kullu in 1846 he saw two temples at Bajaura instead of one. In his own words, "at the village of Hat, opposite Bajaura, there are two stone temples, which are built by Shyam Sen, Raja of Mandi, just 250 years ago, one of which is on high level ground." At present, there is only one such temple at Bajaura; there is no trace of the second. Vogel also noticed the second temple which was buried in the ground, "one of these, known as Jhampru *sail*[1], was still extant in the summer of 1901, though much ruined and partly buried in the sands of the Ropru Khad" (Vogel 1957 : 196). Ruins of the stone temple is reported to have been discovered a few years back in the area during the construction of a structure of a department of H. P. Govt. Siva-*linga* of very large size was recovered from the right bank of the *Khud* and is placed in a temple near the bridge. Moorcroft records that there were a number of other images with their noses broken during the invasions by Ghamand Chand of Kangra, perhaps by his Muslim mercenaries.

Manglor : Manglor, now in Kullu, was once the capital of the Rajas of Mandi for five centuries from about AD 1000 to 1500. Harcourt noticed the existence of a *sikhara* temple in Manglor. The residents of the village today, however, have no memory regarding the existence of any such temple. There are the remains of some structure which the people call as the ruins of the palace of Raja Mangal Sen of Mandi. There is no record of any ruler by the name of Mangal Sen in the history of either Mandi or Kullu. However there did exist one Madan Sen who lived around *circa* AD 950, son of Raja Lakshman Sen, in the history of Suket. But he died quite young and nothing much is known about him. Another Madan Sen, occurs again in the history of Suket, who ruled in AD 1240. He is stated to have annexed quite a large part of Kullu, extending even upto Manali and made grants to Rana Bhosal.

Manglor was founded in AD 1000 when Bahu Sen, brother of Raja Sahu Sen of Suket acquired a small estate with his capital at Manglor and established a separate state which

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ultimately grew to form the Mandi state. The work must therefore be attributed to one of the Rajas of this line.

The extant remains of the structure were closely examined by me and appear to be the ruins of a temple in *sikhara* style, and are perhaps the same as have been reported by Harcourt. It had collapsed in 1905 earthquake, but has not been reported by Vogel. Its base and front wall upto the height of the door lintel are still intact. The square *garbhagriha* and all the inner four walls and inside ceiling are also intact. The stones of the outer walls are missing and one finds debris comprising of pebbles and soil.

The door jambs and lintels, all in stone, are carved with usual patterns with the two *pratiharas* on either side of the door on the base, in characteristic of late Gupta style. Two round stone pillars, each of which is monolithic, gives the temple an appearance of a larger temples with porch or antechamber.

The importance of the temple arises also from the fact that commemorative stones are stated to have been shifted from this site which are at present kept nearby in a new temple. The stone slabs are carved identical to those of Naggar but are rather crude. These are curiously stated to be raised on the death of priests of *devatas*. The practice is no longer being followed. Similar practice, it was informed, was being followed in some other nearby villages where too similar carved stones exist and are sometimes found while digging. This is a characteristic feature of this place only where such high regard was given to the priests of *devatas*.

Jagatsukh : The two important *sikhara* temples at Jagatukh are dedicated to two devis : Sandhya Devi and Ambika Devi. The Sandhya Devi temple contains an inscription of Raja Urdhan Pal, one of the last princes of the Pal dynasty. This has led to the belief that the temple was built by him in AD 1428 (Shastri 1911 : 267). Pasricha, however, notes that the temple, "has been built on the structure of an old temple belonging to the eighth century. This is testified by the fact that the lower part has stone carvings quite different from the upper wood carvings done in primitive style" (p. 26). The new wood structure raised in 1428 is supposed to be a copy of the old model.

Hanumanbagh : Existence of a temple in *sikhara* style is proved from the few remnants found at Hanumanbagh near Dhalpur in Kullu town and also from the information supplied by the residents of the area. The temple, most probably, like many others, collapsed in the earthquake of 1905. So it is informed by members of the *mahanta* family residing nearby, who were the bearers of stick (*charibardar*) of Lord Ragunathji. But faster than this acted the human agents in removing the signs of the structure. The family also owns a private temple and an ancient idol of Narsingh made of *ashtadhatu* reported to have been brought from a temple nearby which was destroyed in the turmoil of history. The remnants of the *sikhara* temple are : the pot-like orb superimposed by another similar but smaller one, both loosely joined by a rod through a hole made at the centre in both the orbs; one stone carving of Dattatreya and another of the *trimurti*, the three faces. Both of these excellent carvings might have formed parts of walls of the temple. Another stone carving is of Lakshminarayana lying on *shesanaga*. Narayan's image is defaced. The serpent on which Narayan is lying and Lakshmi, kneeling and bowing at the feet of Narayana are visible. The lines of the carving are superficial and appear not to be of the same age as the earlier two carvings.

These objects are preserved in a ditch (about 6' × 4' × 2') dug over a mound and paved and walled with semi-dressed stones. The place is reported to be a cemetery of *vairagis*, perhaps belonging to the *Natha* sect, who were the followers of Siva. It is informed that there was a

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custom among these *vairagis* that the ashes left after the burning of the corpse was brought here and then some commemorative objects were raised. There are in the same ditch alongwith the other images, stone slabs of about one square feet each or more, each one engraved with a pair of feet. These carved stones counted five in number. On one of them is engraved a conch and on another one a trident alongwith the feet.

The *Nathas* constitute a sizeable section of the population of Kullu district, about whom the only fact known is that they are 'Dagis with their ears pierced' (Gazetteers : 1899 : 60). It may sound stonishing to learn that according to their custom followed till today, they don't burn but burry their dead corpses. They have cemetries raised for each of the dead. The burial places are called *baag*, such as *Natha-ri-baag* at Mahili, *Biru-baag* at Kais, etc. Similar one may be seen at Shamshi.

(II) PAGODA STYLE

The second important style in Kullu is the *pagoda* style in which a building of rectangular base is provided with succession of roofs-three to five, as seen in Kullu-each smaller than the one below. Slopping roofs are made of wooden planks which are replaced as and when these are decayed.

The earliest and the finest example of a temple of this variety is the temple dedicated to Hidimba Devi at Dhungri in Manali, which was built under the aegis of Raja Bahadur Singh in AD 1553 according to an inscription (Shastri 1911 : 267). Hidimba is the patroness of Kullu kingdom. Forbes reports : "The image in the temple has a black sandstone, and showed the goddess killing the demon buffalo" (1911 : 28). Penelope has more information about the temple : "The only idols in the Dunghri temple are two small brass images of Durga – with whom Hidimba has inevitably become identified - killing the buffalo demon, and a carving in dark grey stone of the same object" (1972 : 173-174). She further informs that the *pujari* "wisely keeps them hidden in the deep recesses of the interior to protect them from art treasure thieves". It is also believed that "In this shrine human sacrifice used to be made within the living memory of the people" (Shastri 1911 : 2676).

Bahadur Singh was perhaps instrumental in introducing this style of temple construction in Kullu. The other such important temples are the Trijugi Narayan temple of Dayar, Tripursundri temple of Naggar, most probably of the time of Pritam Singh, Adi Brahma temple of Khokhan and five story temple of Shainshar. The Khokhan temple is also dated. It contains a *mohra* of the god dated 1746 and the name of Raja Tedhi Singh, indicating the date of construction of the temple. Other temples are not decorated with carvings as exquisitely as that of Dhungri. All of them were slightly damaged in the 1905 earthquake but were repaired immediately.

(III) DEHRA

Dehra is the third and the most extensive type of temple style found in Kullu. It is a structure made of wood and stone. These have pent slate roofs, one or two story with verandah on all the sides, but at least on the front. Such temples are found in every village and still are being built and are all in use. It is locally known as *dehra*. They are located amid the groves of big *deodar* trees and have large grounds in the front where the villagers assemble. Even though it is believed that this is of the most ancient style, no example of great antiquity has come to light so far. It is likely that the old motifs and designs are being copied in each successive structure.

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In fact all sections of the society are involved in the maintenance of the sacred institution of god and temple; but a few classes are more responsible in this regard and they specialise in their respective professions :

(i) *Batahra* : He is a stone mason, a dresser and carver of stones. However they are hardly to be seen these days. They are also responsible for the carving of stone statues, besides construction of temples and houses. They seem to have changed their profession in later times. "In Kulu he is said to be a *koli* who has taken to slate quarrying" (Rose 1883, II : 89).

(ii) *Thauee* : He specialised in wood work. Besides carpentry, he also did the carvings and other types of elaborate work in wood.

(iii) *Thathar* : They are the goldsmiths, who made *mohras* of gods from gold, silver and alloys, as well as jewellery for the people. From Chamba we learn that they also did the work of inscribing on copper–plates. They executed the same job on metal *mohras* and copper–plates in Kullu as well.

(iv) *Musicians* : The *devata* is accompanied by a large band of musicians who play on different kinds of instruments. They all belong to the lowest class of the society.

These professions were hereditary and they worked on both sacred and temporal jobs. However, they were ranked low in the hierarchy of castes, though the other professions were placed above the menials and musicians.

Despite the fact that in the initial phases of raising the *ratha* i.e. the vehicle of the god, and the construction of temple, the persons involved belong mostly to low caste-untouchable and impure-but once they were completed and consecrated, their purity and piety had to be maintained by all means. The following are some of the measures taken to protect them from polluting.

(i) Taking any kind of leather goods in the temple precincts is not permitted.

(ii) Certain classes of the people like women, low caste persons, etc. may be restricted from entering certain portions of the premises.

(iii) Sharp edged weapons may be restricted selectively.

(iv) Others in polluted condition may not be allowed.

The trespassers may be pardoned on the payment of the prescribed penalty.

The *dehras* of the *devatas* are constructed on the same model as the residential houses of the *zamindars* which are relatively large and spacious. Stone and wood are used in alternate layers, almost in equal proportion, and this type of construction is termed technically as *katha-kuni* i.e. wooden-corner. Roof is provided with stone slabs, quarried locally. No pillars are used, unlike in Lahul. A house is ordinarily two and a-half stories, the third half known as *tara*. The ground floor shelters cattle and the first floor serves as residential unit and for other purposes. The verandah all around this floor is used for various purposes like for storing hay, wood, etc. The top half is used as store, residence of house-god etc. Floors are made of wooden planks, since deodar wood is available in plenty from nearby jungles. A house always faces towards the side across the river. The walls are left unplastered from outside but inside they are plastered with mud and cowdung. Each house has in front a courtyard-*kholi*- paved with stone slabs used for drying crops, fodder, thrashing corns by means of cows and bullocks, keeping the cattle and sheep on sunny days during winter. Such houses are cheap and strong, warm and comfortable in winter, and resistant to earthquake. The only and perhaps a great drawback is that it is highly vulnerable to fire due to heavy use of wood in the construction and storing of grass etc.

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in the verandahs. Once a house catches fire, it cannot be saved by any means. Within hours it can be reduced to ashes. Many a times cattle and human lives are also engulfed, and the lifelong savings of the family are also lost. The only consolation is that the villagers assist in the reconstruction of house by way of labour and supplying construction or other material. While modern constructions do not have this shortcoming, they lack the aesthetic beauty of the traditional house.

There are a great number of forts raised by Thakurs, Ranas and Rajas of the state. Moorcroft and Ttrebeck while coming towards Kullu and crossing the borders of Mandi, observed : "From the ridge no fewer than thirteen forts in Kullu were visible as fortifications, they are picturesque in their outline and positions on commanding heights" (Moorcroft 1841 : I : 176, 167). The nearest to their view was named to be Amirkot. We can from this imagine the number of such structures existing in whole of the Raj. Sultanpur, the last capital of the Rajas, was fortified by a wall, but it had been razed much before 1890, when, the Gazetteer records, only two gateways stood at northern and southern ends of the town, as they do even today. Some important forts of the Ujhi valley like the Jagatsukh of Piti Thakurs, Sanghor, Baragarh, Manaligarh, etc. have been recently studied by Howard (1995 and 1996).

Note

1. *sail* (*Shail*) is a Sanskrit word meaning stone. In Kullu there are numerous ancient stone structures and ruined monuments which the people know as *shail*. Stone statues are also called as *shail*. Indeed one informant tells that stone temples like that of Bajaura are termed locally *shail*.

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CHAPTER 6

BUDDHISM

No prominent archaeological monument, either standing or otherwise, has come to light evidencing Buddhism having ever been in practice in Kullu. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Buddhism once flourished in Kullu and its fame as a sacred place of Buddhism spread as far as Tibet and China. This can be understood from the general history of the spread of Buddhism in the Himalayas and beyond, evidences from the neighbouring states of Kangra, Ladak, Lahul, etc. and some minor local evidences and other sources.

Kuluta (Kullu) was known to the Chinese very well and, in fact, it was known to them by several names, as we have already seen viz. Ku-lu-to, Ku-lu-lo and Ku-lu-to-o. This indicates the reputation and fame of Kullu among Chinese Buddhists regarding the status of the practice of Buddhism in this country. Kullu held high position in their list of holy pilgrimage places.

Hieun Tsiang, a great Chinese Buddhist scholar, visited Kullu sometime between AD 629-645 and left a valuable record of the status of practice of Buddhism in Kullu during his time.

After giving the general geographical features of the country, he relates the status of religious practice in the country : "There are about twenty *sangharamas*, and one thousand priests or so. They mostly study the great vehicle, a few practice (the rule of) other schools (*nikayas*). Besides there are fifteen *deva* temples, different sects occupy them without distinction ... along the precipitous sides of mountains and hollowed into the rocks are stone chambers which face one another. Here the *arhats* dwell or the *rishis* stop. In the middle of the country is a *stupa* built by Asokaraja. Of old the Tathagata came to this country with his followers to preach the law and to save men. This *stupa* is a memorial of the traces of his presence" (Beal 1884 : 177).

We cannot say anything about the Tathagata's visit to the place; however, regarding his other observations, there is no cause for doubt. His scientific descriptions and accurate measurement of length and breadth and directions have lead to the discovery of several important, otherwise lost, archaeological monuments in India.

The history of the spread of Buddhism in the Himalayas begins with the Third Buddhist Council which was held at Patliputra in the third century BC under the aegis of emperor Asoka. At the end of the Council, Moggaliputta sent forth *theras* to different directions of India for founding of the religion there (Geiger 1912 : 82-85). Majjhantika was sent to Kashmir and Gandhara. The wise Majjhima preached in the Himalayas where he had gone with four *thereas*, one of them was named Kassapagotta. As a result of their effort, eighty *kotis* of living beings attained the reward of the path of salvation. The five *theras* separately converted five kingdoms; from each of them a hundred thousand persons received the *pabbajja*, believing in the doctrine of the Sammasambuddha. The names of the missionaries are preserved with their relics and were discovered in the Sanchi stupas. In the inscription of the inner lid of the relic–urn, which was

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found in Stupa 2 of the Sanchi group, read the name of Majjhimma, the pious. On the outer lid was inscribed the name Kassapagotta described as Hemavatcharyya (the teacher of the Himalaya) (Cunningham 1966 : 185).

It is thus, evident that most of the Himalayan kingdoms were covered by these missionaries and, of course, including the present Himachal. This we gather from the sources of southern Buddhism, the Ceylonese. Tibetan literature, the Northern Buddhism, also has preserved the tradition, although in a fragmented form.

Gos Lotsava (1391-1481) writes from a 'stray page' obtained from Indian source, and repeats the above facts. He says : "Arya Maddyantika proceeded to Kashmir, and with the help of his supernatural powers subdued the nagaraja Audusta... He obtained saffron and introduced the Doctrine among the inhabitants of Kashmira. He spread greatly the Doctrine of the Blessed One, and benefitted living beings by protecting the Doctrine" (Roerich 1949 : 23). Thus there is ample reason to believe that Buddhism had reached Kullu, if even Tathagata himself had not visited, in the time of Asoka.

Asoka's inscriptions found on the borders of Himachal at Kalsi near Dehradun which once formed part of the Sirmour state of Himachal; and Topra near Ambala, on the border of Himachal, prove clearly how well deeply entrenched Buddhism was in the foothills of the Himalayas. Kashmir formed part of the dominions of Asoka. The Kushan kings were also great patrons of Buddhism and the Fourth Council was held under the aegis of the great Kushan king Kanishka either in Jalandhara (Kangra), or Kashmir or Gandhara. Kashmir and most of the Himalayan areas were under the rule of the Kushan rulers Kanishka and Huvishka. The Kushan kingdom extended even upto Ladak as the Khalatse inscription of Wima Kadaphises of the year AD 187 establishes (Satya Shrva 1993 : 172).

In Himachal Pradesh, two massive blocks of granite inscribed in Pali meaning 'garden of Krishnasas' of the Kushan period were discovered at Kanihara and Pathyara, in Kangra. Coins of Wima Kadaphises were also found in the same district (Cunningham 1875 : 175). At Chari (Kangra), ruins of a temple foundation with Buddhist inscription 'ye dhamma ... ' etc., were found. At Chaitru, there is a Buddhist stupa known to the local people as 'Bhima Tila," now under the protection of the Archaeological Survey of India. A brass statue of sixth century AD found at Fatehpur, Kangra, was placed in the Lahore Museum.

In the historical fort of Kangra, there are two statues. One of them has been identified as Parshavanatha and the other one, in much worn out condition, sitting in *padmasana* is identified as the Leader of Buddhist Philosophy (Acharya 1983 : 20). Acharya Prahladanand wrote in 1684 in his book Jalandhara-Pitha Deepika (Guidebook to the Holy Places of Jalandhara Pith, i.e. Kangra, Jawalamukhi, etc. :

Chamundam cha tate gacchet pujyet sampradayaatah;
parshvanatham praputyath bauddhadarshan nayakam.

Prithu Ram Shastri has translated this as "According to one's family tradition, one should formerly pay homage to the Bhagwati, and then to the Leader of the Buddhist Philosophy (Nagarjuna) and Tirthankara Parshavanath." On the basis of the description in the verse Shastri has identified the statue with Nagarjuna, as the leader of Buddhist Doctrine or Philosophy (*darshan*). It fact, the statue of Nagarjuna is extremely rare and one in *padmasana* postures still more difficult to be found. Therefore the statue could be of the Buddha himself. Otherwise too, the leader of the Bauddha Darshan is the Buddha, and Nagarjuna is founder or leader of one branch of Buddhist philosophy, no doubt, very prominent.

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In Lahul the Triloknath and Margul temples are assigned to a period earlier than Tibetan Buddhism. However the discovery of the antique *lotah* (vase) from Gandhola, near the confluence of Chandra and Bhaga, which has been dated first–second century AD has made it amply clear that by this time Lahul was a flourishing Buddhist country (Tobdan 1984 : 83). Once Lahul became Buddhist it continued to follow the same religion, although latter in the form of Tibetan Buddhism. This may be the reason that Lahul continued to be favourite place of pilgrimage for the Tibetan Buddhists. We may thus conclude that Kullu had to a great extent been Buddhist for sometime and that it occupied an important place in Indian, Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist literature.

Svetoslav Roerich came across certain bronzes from Kullu representing mostly Buddha Avalokitesvara and Bodhisattva Padmapani and identified them as of Pala style or even earlier, originating from Bengal-Bihar, and probably left behind by the pilgrims. Goetz and Madanjit Singh uphold his views fully.

Harcourt found traces of Buddhism in Kullu in the frequent occurrence of the Buddhist symbols like wheel on temples besides the effigies of Buddhist animals, birds and snakes, and the ceremony of swinging rope, etc. (Harcourt 1870 : 109). Penelope Chetwode writes : "There was a Buddhist monastery at Dungri : the present sadhu shelter may even have formed a part of it and the monks may well have meditated in an earlier edition of the present temple" (Penelope 1972 : 172).

An object of special interest is the image of Avalokita, known as Triloknath, found at Kalath. Vogel reports that at Kalath there was a small image slab, much effaced and apparently of considerable age. It showed a six-armed figure, but its attributes were unrecognisbale. The *asana* was exactly like that of the Avalokitesvara of Lahul. Moreover there was a second figure in *dhyana mudra* on the head like that of the Triloknath and as is usually found in the Buddhist icons. "The image itself, however, they know by the name of Triloknath and admitted that it represented the same deity as that worshipped in Lahul." He further says, "It seems highly probable that Avalokita was originally the main object of worship at Kalat, and was superseded by Brahminical Muni" (Vogel 1901 : 39).

The image was photographed by H. Lee Shuttleworth who remarked, "Triloknath with Amitabh on head-Kalat, Kulu-only Buddhist image in Kulu," which has been published by Maxiwell (1980 : 68). Maxiwell confirms that the relief slab is still known as Triloknath and also admits that the 'iconography of the Kelat image is inexplicable in any other way," than as done by his predecessors. He explains its origin in the manner that it was a copy made from Tibetan *tsha-tsha* brought by Hindu pilgrims to Margul and Triloknath and considers Kelath as the lone and the southernmost extension of Tibetan Buddhism.

Maxiwell seems to have ignored the fact that Indian Buddhism was practised in Kullu for more than a millennium before the Tibetan Buddhism was able to stand on its own feet and spread its wings. Tibetan Buddhism started its expansion towards the west only in the eleventh century AD. The symbol therefore represents not the Tibetan Buddhism but Indian Buddhism of much earlier time.

Buddhism is believed to have been introduced in Mandi in the time of the Kushan (Manmohan 1930 : 15). But the position of Mandi could not have been different from that of Kullu and Buddhism must have reached here much earlier than the Kushan period.

Rewalsar is presently an important Buddhist spot in Mandi and the Lamaist monastery dedicated to Guru Pamasambhava carries on an ancient tradition. It is identified with Zahor, distinct from Zahor of Bengal, which was the seat of king Arshadhar whose daughter princess

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Mandarva was married to the Guru, the renowned Tantric Acharya of Uddyana (now in Pakistan) of the eighth century AD, according to the Guru's biography.

No trace of Buddhism has been found in Chamba. Vogel has collected several Tibetan inscriptions from Bharmour, most of them of religious nature (Vogel 1911 : 252-255). Francke has attempted to explain these from the historical standpoint. However, these inscriptions appear to be the handiwork of the Tibetan pilgrims going to Uddyan between the twelfth and seventeenth century AD. After the second revival of Buddhism in Tibet in the eleventh century AD devotees came out in search of Holy Buddhist places in India like Uddyana, Shambhala, Zahor, Jalandhara, etc. some of which have lost their ancient Buddhistic identity beyond recognition and they find place only in legend. The Tibetan pilgrims visiting Uddyana, the birthplace of Guru Padmasambhava, preferred the shorter and comparatively hilly and cool climatic path of Lahul and Chamba rather than the hot climatic regions of Kullu, Mandi and Kangra. Inscribing sacred formulas and symbols on stones on the way is their usual practice, a devotional service.

Tibetan Buddhism, inheriting Indian tradition, holds Kuluta in high esteem. Kuluta is considered as one of the twenty-four sacred places spread all over Jambudvipa. The idea was introduced into Tibet from Indian tradition and this only indicates the fact that Kuluta formed an important Buddhist place in India. The tradition continued with Tibetan devotees till recent times. But since Kullu transformed into Brahmanism, they lost its identification.

Buddhism survived in Kashmir till the eleventh century AD (Coomarswamy 1927 : 142), or slightly later. Buddhism disappeared from Kullu earlier than Kashmir. It was practised and Kashmir was still a seat of Buddhist learning till the eleventh century AD for we know that Rinchen Zangpo (958-1055), the famed Tibetan scholar and great translator, went to Kashmir for studies and many *panditas* or scholars from Kashmir worked with him and other Tibetan scholars, and also many artists from Kashmir worked under his supervision in his campaign of temple construction. In Kangra we find traces of Buddhism till *circa* sixth century AD as we learn from the discovery of bronze sculpture from Fatehpur, Kangra. In Mandi, besides the Padmasambhava's association with Rewalsar in the eighth century AD, Manmohan discovered evidences of its existence around eighth century AD from the Skandha Purana (1930 : 15). In Kullu Buddhism appears to have disappeared by *circa* ninth century AD.

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CHAPTER 7

THE CUSTOM OF *SATI* AND RAISING OF COMMEMORATIVE STONES

The ancient Rajput custom of *Sati* was in vogue in Kullu among the ruling families till about the second decade of the nineteenth century. After the death of the Raja, his *ranis*, concubines, etc. burnt themselves in the funeral fire. In 1820 Moorcroft, when he passed through Sultanpur, came across an incident of Sati : "On our way we learnt of the death of the Rani whose body had been lately burnt near the palace where we had halted. We were told that eleven of her female attendants had burnt themselves with her corpse and no reason was assigned for this but that they did not wish to survive their protectors" (Moorcroft 1841, I : 176).

This was an unusual instance in that Rani did not perform *sati* at the time of Raja's death and that the attendants of *rani* burnt themselves with the Rani whereas customarily it should have been done with the Raja. Raja Vikramjit Singh had died in 1816. It is not known why the *rani* survived till 1820 after the death of the Raja.

The number of women giving their life with the Raja was considerable, ranging generally between 30 to 40 and sometimes even higher. Thirty *ranis* or women died with Vikramjit Singh, 35 with Pritam Singh and 64 with Tedhi Singh.

The rite could be performed with the burning corpse of the Raja. If it was not possible, some personal belonging was made available. Pritam Singh's *ranis* waited till the former's head could be acquired from the hands of enemies. Jai Singh's *ranis* had to commit *sati* with the Raja's *katari* (sword), as he had died in Ayodhya.

The *ranis* of Ajit Singh, who died in 1841, did not perform this rite.

Exactly who constituted the so large number of women dying with the Raja can be learnt from the inscription of Raja Shyam Sen of Mandi recorded at Bajaura perhaps at the time of his death in 1673. It reads that the Raja "went to heaven with five queens, two concubines and thirty seven slave girls" (Vogel : 1910 : 23).

There is another tradition connected with death in the royal families. Commemorative stones were raised after the death of the Rajas. On the stone slab erected after the death of a Raja, figures of all the persons dying together with the Raja, including the *ranis* and concubines, were carved out. This custom was followed in some other states too in the hills. The figures numbered around 30 to 40 and Forbes saw on one stone around 80 female figures (Forbes 1911 : 76).

At Naggar, in a walled-in space where such stones were preserved is known as Birsh Kund. Harcourt (1870 : 108) had counted 141 such memorial slabs and Forbes (1911 : 75) had

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counted 150. Although the Rajas had their capital at more than one place, the commemorative stones were found raised only at Naggar and none has been reported at Jagat Sukh, Sultanpur or Makarhar.

Harcourt noticed similar carvings on stones at Shamshi but he could not ascertain the purpose for which they were raised. He states, "At Shamshee one comes across a few erect stones by the side of the road, and about twenty or thirty paces from these is to be found a small hut with an enclosed courtyard. In front of the doorway to the hut is a Buddhist wheel most clearly traced out on a flat stone in the ground and on either side of the enclosure is a collection of stones. Very much fraught like those at Naggar, but figures on them are almost quite destroyed and untraceable" (Harcourt 1870 : 109).

G. C. L. Howell reports that the Rana family at Aleo "burried their dead under memorial stones– a royal privilege" (Rose 1883, III : 316).

Similar carved stone slabs are kept near the temple at Manglor. They numbered 22 in March 1996. Similar slabs are reported to be found in another village above Manglor and occasionally they are found while digging. It is said that they were erected on the death of the *gurr* (priest) of the *devata*. These stones are reported to have been shifted from the ruins of the palace of the Raja, which as we have already observed, is a temple.

A similar tradition was followed in Mandi and Suket. There they are known as Barsela (from *Varsha* = year, so in Kulu *Birsha* = *Varsha* = year), perhaps because they were raised at the time of the first anniversary. After death, unlike in Kullu, many of the slabs in Mandi have inscriptions indicating the name and year of death of the Raja, and number and class of those dying with the Raja. The inscriptions are reported to be only in *tankri* and the earliest going back to sixteenth century AD. In Suket it is said that earlier the commemorative figures were engraved on wood instead of on stone.

In Chamba, such stones are said to be scattered all over the state. They are known as *autor* stones (autor = from Sanskrit *aputra*, meaning sonless) and were erected by the relations of the persons who died without having male descendants to perform the *shraddha* ceremony. The Rana, the ruling family of Triloknath in Lahul also followed this custom but they are known as *pittar*, i.e. 'ancestor' stones. However, the slabs contain the images of the male along with a number of female figures, like those in Kullu and Mandi.

In Kullu the custom was followed till around 1852. "At the death of the late Gyan Singh, the representative of a once powerful family, his servants executed a rude effigy of him" (Harcourt 1870 : 108).

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CHAPTER 8

KULLU PAINTING

Since discovery and appreciation of the Pahari paintings in the early twentieth century, it has acquired a distinct place in the world of Indian Art. Pahari painting, the generic name by which the style is known, was being practiced for a long time in Himachal Pradesh and Jammu. It is believed to have developed as a result of marriage of the folk art of the hills with Mughal technique. In its earliest stage, the style is believed to have originated in Bashohli and flourished under the patronage of the Pala kings. From there, it spread to other hill states of Mankot, Nurpur, Kullu, Mandi, Suket, Bilaspur, Nalagarh, Chamba, Guler and Kangra, where it survived four centuries.

The subject in the paintings of the Pahari school are scenes from the royal courts, romantic environment and beauties symbolised in royal, epic and ethereal personages and their affairs, episodes from the epics etc. Portraiture is a prominent feature. Miniature size of the paintings is another major characteristic of the style.

After Bashohli it gained fame in Kangra whose great patrons were Raja Ghamand Chand and Raja Sansar Chand.

In Kullu, according to the information supplied by Raja Raghubir Singh Shangari, the paintings were done in the time of Jagat Singh and Bidhi Singh, and the painters were Kashmiri Brahmins, whose descendants are said to be living in Paljhot village, near Naggar (Randhawa 1959 : 22). The evidence available, however, reveal that the paintings were done in Kullu during the reign of Man Singh and up to the reign of Pritam Singh. The volume of work produced, nevertheless, appears to have been quite impressive. Raja Raghubir Singh had about 270 paintings in his collection, besides those in places like the Rupi Palace, Sultanpur, Punjab Museum, Patiala; private collections, etc.

The art flourished best in the time of Pritam Singh, the excellent product of whose time is the 'Kullu Devi Mural', the painting of Tripurasundari.

The art, however, remained confined to the royal courts and families and could not become people's art; it, therefore, died with its patrons. No work in local private collection is reported. The artists were all from outside the state. Even many of court officials were also employed from outside during those days, as some evidences show.

Devi Mural or Kullu Devi Mural (Tripurasundari) a form of Devi or Durga, now in National Gallery of Modern Arts is an outstanding product not only in this state but perhaps also the entire world of Pahari paintings. It is exceptionally large in size, as compared to the general trend of the school. It is a big panel of 3.78 metres by 2.26 metres and covers the entire wall from ground to the ceiling (Mira Seth 1976 : 74-75). The theme itself relates to the

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three worlds-*svarga*, *martya* and *patala*. Raja Pritam Singh is supposed to be the Raja paying homage to Tripurasundari, the goddess who is the most beautiful in all the three worlds or who rules the three worlds. Women, soldiers, scholars and *yoginis*, as depicted in this picture, are the subject of art found only in Kullu Devi Mural, exceptional to the school. Raja Vikramjit Singh is reported to have been portrayed thrice. Archer has also reproduced a portrait of Tedhi Singh.

Similar paintings also decorated the walls of the Rupi Palace which was rebuilt in 1910. By 1930, when J. C. French visited the palace, no paintings were being done. He also identified two paintings belonging to the eighteenth century.

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CHAPTER 9

EARLY HISTORY

The history of Kullu, based on local sources, can be broadly divided into two periods : 1. Pala Dynasty, from the earliest time to *circa* AD 1500, and 2. Singh Dynasty, from 1500 onwards. This is because the names of all the Rajas of the former period end with the surname 'Pala' and those of latter with 'Singh'. Besides whereas the latter part of the descriptions of the *Vamsavali* are corroborated by external evidences, such evidences are rare in respect of the first part except towards the end of the period, and those available do not correlate in time with the events and persons mentioned in the *Vamsavali*. Therefore, the first part also for a part of the period has been dealt with under two sections *viz.* Early History, entirely based on external sources, and Pala Dynasty, based on the *Vamsavali*.

The Vedas give reference to the rivers Vipasa (Beas) which originates at the head of the main valley of modern Kullu; Satadru (Satluj), which touches the boundary of Kullu; and the Ravi, among others. As the authors of these ancient treatises knew about these rivers, it may not be too far-fetched from the truth to conclude that their geographical knowledge also might have included the land and people inhabiting the catchment basin of these rivers. Therefore the present geographical area of Kullu and its inhabitants– the Kulutas, or by whatever name they were known then-most probably were also known to the authors of the Vedas.

Early literature does not help us much in locating Kuluta, the country or the people specifically, but from the fact that the authors of the great epics of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana and several other classical works like Puranas, and others have been making reference to Kulutas frequently, the Kulutas undoubtedly constituted an important group of people since ancient times. Since the Kulutas remained, according to the description given by various ancient authors, as neighbours of the Kashmira, Trigarta, Chinas, Daradas, as they do to some extent even today, they occupied the areas very near to the present Kullu, even if they did not encompass this region in their territory.

The earliest reference to the Kulutas is to be found in the Mahabharata in association with other neighbouring peoples, for example once with the Kashmira, Gandhara, Abhisara and others, and at another with the Mlechha people like Yavana, China, Kamboja, Huna and Paraasika, and in the Karnaparva Kuluta is referred to as a country (Gupta 1988 : 9). In great Mahabharata war they together with the Kulindas fought on the side of the Kauravas (Postel 1985 : 17). The Ramayana placed the Kulutas to the west of Punjab. However, Markandeya Purana mentions them amongst the people of north-east, viz. the Kashmira, Abhisara, Darada, Tarangana, and others. The Vishnu Purana mentions the Kulutas in association with Gandhara, Abhisara, etc. Varahamihira in his Brihatsamhita mentions the Kuluta twice, once in the west and second in the north-east along with Trigarta, China, Tangana, Khasa and Kashmira.

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Thus the majority of the works locate the Kulutas in the north-east, somewhere in the Punjab. In later period, they existed only in the Himalaya, in the neighbourhood of Trigarta, as several local evidences reveal.

The Jain sources indicate that in the Nanda-Maurya period, founded forth-third century BC, Parvataka, a king from Himavata-Kuta (Himalaya), assisted Kautilya, Chandragupta Maurya's advisor, in overthrowing the Nanda king and occupying the capital of Pataliputra. Later, Parvataka was assassinated and his territory was annexed to that of Chandragupta Maurya (Gupta 1988 : 4-5; Postel 1985 : 17).

The same tradition is incorporated in the plot of the story of Vishakhadatta's *Mudrarakshasa*. According to the story in the play, Kautilya, after establishing Chandargupta on the throne, arranged for Parvataka's assassination instead of granting him his share in return for help. Parvataka's son Malayaketu, then sought assistance from the Kuluta king Chitravarman, and joined hands with the displaced Nanda king's minister Rakshasa. Ultimately, however, Malayaketu's kingdom in the Himalaya was restored to him and he probably ruled as a Maurya vassal (Postel 1985 : 17). Thus in these circumstances we can presume Kullu also to have been included in the Mauryan empire. About Mandi, the immediate neighbour of Kullu, Man Mohan believes that "there is reason to believe, however, under the Mauryas, Mandi formed a part of the extensive Mauryan Empire" (Man Mohan 1930 : 15).

More information about the close contact of several regions of Himachal Pradesh with the Nanda-Maurya empire are available from the silver punch-marked coins which are considered as the earliest coins of India. The type of the punch-marked coins found so far in Himachal belong to the fourth-third century BC (Gupta 1988 : 6). These were found in Kangra, Arki, Una and the Toshkhana of Mandi State, which might have been found within the State of Mandi. The finds are not different from those discovered in the plains of Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Although no such coin was discovered from Kullu, we may safely imagine that the position of Kullu with respect to the great empire was not different from that of the other regions of Himachal Pradesh mentioned above.

Asoka's (273-232 BC) extension into the western region of the Himalaya is confirmed from several sources. One of Asoka's inscriptions engraved on rock was located at Kalsi in Dehradun district (Uttar Pradesh). Kalsi once formed part of the territory of the Rajas of Sirmour (Himachal Pradesh). The other inscription incised on a pillar was located at Topra near Khizrabad, close to Ambala which is situated near the border of present Himachal. The pillar was shifted in AD 1356 from there and set up at Delhi at Firoz Shah Kotla by Sultan Firoz Shah (1351-88), of the Tughlak dynasty (Sircar 1957 : 36).

It is generally agreed that Kashmir was included in the Asokan empire.

Hieun Tsiang informs that Asoka had erected a stupa in Kuluta, in the middle of the country, in the memory of the visit of the Tathagata to this place. Asoka had nearly thirty pillars erected and carried in many cases to much larger distances and many had edicts engraved on them. P.L. Gupta surmises that a few of them might have been raised in Himachal Pradesh, although not found so far. He maintains that 'if they are unknown to us, it is perhaps due to the lack of proper archaeological exploration' (Gupta 1988 : 6). After the Third Council held in the third century BC Asoka sent Majjhantika to Kashmir and Gandhara, and Majjhimo to the Himalayas to preach the Dhamma. Asoka's missionaries reached the regions of the present Himachal Pradesh and further across the country. Archaeological sources corroborate this fact beyond doubt.

The Mauryan empire was followed by the Indo-Bactrians in western India. Coins of Indo-

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Greek rulers have been discovered from at least five places in Himachal. The Kangra hoard included the coins of Menander (155-130 BC), Antimachus II (130-115 BC), Antialkidas (115-110 BC), Philoxenus (125-115 BC) and Lysias (120-110 BC). Two of these hoards were found in Chamba, the others were dug up from Jwalamukhi and Hamirpur. Coin of Appollodotus (115-95 BC) was discovered from Una.

During the Kushan period, Kashmir including Ladak formed part of Kushan empire. Inscriptions dated AD 187 from Khalatse in Ladak give the name of Wima Kadaphises. Inscriptions of Kanishka of first century AD have been discovered from Kangra at Kanihara. Coins of Wima Kadaphises have also been discovered from the same area (Cunningham 1875 : 175-76). Evidently, the area was under the Kushan rulers which most probably included Kullu. Jalandhara (Kangra or Nagarkot) was one of the probable places where the Fourth Buddhist Council was held under the aegis of the Kushan kings. Of special interest is the discovery of an engraved copper *lotah* (vase) in Lahul in 1857 which has been dated to first-second century AD (Tobdan 1984 : 83).

A few coins of the Kulutas relating to this particular period have also been discovered in scattered regions which attest to the existence of monarchy-based tribal state of the Kulutas. They are distinctly of two types : one is represented by a group of eleven coins that were discovered at Sirkap (Taxila) during the archaeological excavations conducted by Marshall. They form a homogeneous series containing the legend *Rajnya Kulutasya Vijayamitrasya* in Brahmi and Kharoshti. On paleographic grounds, these have been dated to first-second century AD (Shastri 1911 : 265). The other type of coin, with the name Kuluta, is known so far from only a single specimen that exists in the British Museum. The coin discovered alongwith Audumbara coins somewhere in Pathankot contains in Brahmi the legend *Rajnyo Kulutasya Virayasya*. Since the coin is unrelated to the region of the find of the first type of the Kuluta coins and its provenance is associated with that of the Audumbaras, it may well be presumed that this was an issue of the Himalayan region (Gupta 1988 : 10).

Gupta also surmises that since the name of the ruler Virayasa on the coin is the same as on the Sirkap find, the Kulutas originally inhabited the Gandhara region, not far from Madra; later, when the local tribes of the Punjab were pressed by the foreign invaders–Indo-Greeks, Saka-Pahlavas-the Kuluta people moved to the Himalayas and established a new kingdom in the area which is now called Kullu.

The inscription of Salri near Salanu, although in Mandi, situated on the border with Kullu, actually belongs to Kullu valley. It may be considered as the earliest evidence discovered from within the district. It records that one Maharaja Sri Chandesvarahastin, son of Maharaja Isvarahastin, conquered a king named Rajjibala, and founded a town, called Salipuri. The inscription on paleographic grounds, has been dated fourth-fifth century AD (Shastri 1911 : 265). It is not known whether Chandesvarahastin was independent ruler or a vassal of some superior power such as the Imperial Guptas. Besides, no *hastin* dynasty is known from Kullu in any other source.

During the time of Samudragupta, the Gupta empire extended to the north and north-west upto Punjab and along the Himalayan foothills. His son Chandragupta II in AD 375 or 380 further enlarged the empire. He probably ruled parts of Himachal Pradesh. Kashmir was a tributary to the Guptas. The empire of the great Harshavardhan of Thanesar (AD 606-647/48) extended upto the Ravi and Goetz believes that Kullu was under his direct control (Goetz 1955 : 10).

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Kalhana indicates that about the sixth century Kuluta had become a separate state, when he says that Ratisena, the king of the Cholas, sent daughter Ranarambha to the residence of his friend, the king of Kuluta, and "Ranaditya went with joy to that not distant land to receive her" (Shastri 1911 : 261).

In the time of Mahabharata, Kulutas are shown as *mlechhas*. *Mudrarakshasa* of Vishakhadatta (*circa* AD 600) also classes the Kulutas with *mlechhas*. He mentions Chitravarman, the king of Kuluta, among the five leading Mlechha allies of Rakshasa. This has led some scholars to believe that the Kulutas were till the seventh century AD *mlechhas*. The coins of the Kulutas, however, show them using Indo-Aryan names and symbols by the first-second century AD. Thus they appear to have become Hinduised or Aryanised by this time, if they were considered *mlechha* earlier. The problem of Vishakhadatta's proposition of the Kulutas as *mlechhas*, in the seventh century AD, may be explained in the manner that actually his being a literary work, he was using an ancient story of third-fourth century BC, already referred to above, as a plot for his work. As such his work cannot be taken as an evidence representative of his time. Rather it is a confirmation of the earlier tradition.

Bana (middle of the seventh century AD) in his work titled *Kadambari* tells us that Kuluta was conquered by the great king Tarapida of Ujjayini, who took captive the princess Patralekha, the daughter of the king of that country, and that a queen Vilasavati sent her to prince Chandrapida, her son, to be his betel-bearer. Tarapida of Ujjain is unknown to history, but Chandrapida and Tarapida are the names of the immediate predecessors of Lalitaditya Muktapida of Kashmir (Shastri 1911 : 261; Hist. II : 417). Here again we are confronted with a problem. The plot, of which Chandrapida of Ujjain and Kadambri are the main characters, is an old and inner story told to Shudraka, king of Vidisha. Thus the reference of Bana to Kuluta is not contemporaneous to his time, but to some earlier period. Secondly, the learned authors' identification of Tarapida and Chandrapida, the two characters of the plot, with Chandrapida and Tarapida, the predecessors of Lalitaditya-Muktapida of Kashmir is contestable. Whereas in the drama of Bana, Tarapida and Chandrapida are father and son by relation, the two in the history of Kashmir are son and father. Then there is also the problem regarding the period of these personages. Whereas Bana's time coincided with Harsha (AD 606-646), and slightly later (Keith 1920 : 315), the two Kashmir kings ruled much later : Chandrapida (682-691) and Tarapida (691-695) (Pandit 1935 : 695). However, it clearly shows that Bana recognised Kullu as a distinct kingdom.

Anyway the character of Patralekha, daughter of the Kulutaraja, presents an interesting study. In Bana's own words, as we learn through queen Vilasvati, while handing her over to prince Chandrapida as his betel-bearer, after his return on the completion of his studies : "This orphan princess has been brought up with affection. I am sending her to be your betel-bearer. Therefore don't take her as an ordinary person, but like our own. Take her as a pupil and abide in her like a friend. I have deep faith in her like my own daughter. She being born in a renowned royal family, is capable of performing all such kinds of tasks. She will keep you satisfied with your extremely humble behaviour" (Bana 1969 : 53).

Patralekha is supposed to have been reincarnation of Rohini, wife of Chandra. Her role as a communicator between the hero and the heroine of the play, which she has fulfilled extremely faithfully, has elevated her status further. We read in her character the respectable position occupied by the family of her parents and her motherland, Kuluta, in the eyes of the other states of India of the time of Bana and earlier.

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The earliest information about the monarchical kingdom of Kullu is available in the Nirmand inscription. From it we know a chain of four *Mahasamanta Maharajas* named Varunasena, Sanjayasena, Ravisena and Samudrasena, in order of their genealogical succession. Palaeographically, this inscription is placed in *circa* seventh century AD. It records the erection of a temple of Mihiresvara by Samudrasena's mother Mihirlakshmi and endowment of a village Sulisa for its maintenance and the daily expenses of worship. It appears that these rulers at some earlier time were feudatories under some imperial power; later, they attained higher position, perhaps sometime in *circa* sixth century AD (Gupta 1988 : 36).

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CHAPTER 10

PALA DYNASTY

The *Vamsavali* narrates that in the most ancient times this part of the land was uninhabited. Then emerged a wild tribe who lived like animals. Parasurama[1] came here three thousand years ago from the Punjab and founded five villages, namely; Dav, Silnagar, Marhatta, Nirmand and Pahrar in the Satluj valley, on the right side of the river; and five villages namely Dharmot, Jagatsukh, Chansari, Tipri and Trambli in the Beas valley.

Parasram or Parasurama does not appear to have had any progeny. He was, however, deified and is still worshipped at Nirmand, one of the villages supposed to have been founded by himself. Nirmand is a large and important village having long and ancient traditions. Bhunda festival is celebrated after a cycle of every twelve years. Tradition avers that the practice of human sacrifice was also observed in this festival. Important historical documents like copper plate inscription of the Gupta period, Devi *mohra* of eleventh century AD and valuable sculptures and miniature ancient temples have been discovered in the village. A rock inscription was also found, but was illegible (Vogel 1911 : 257). All these show the importance of the village in the past.

The tradition goes further that during the great Bharata war many *rishis* and saints, weary of the war, moved to the peaceful and tranquil environment of the Himalayas and engrossed themselves in meditation. But they were often disturbed by the native dwellers. After the great war was over and the Pandavas emerged victorious, they abandoned the throne of Indraprastha and proceeded towards the Himalaya mountains. They suppressed the wicked dwellers of the hills and made the place safe for the *rishis* so that they could meditate undisturbed.

Alongwith the Pandvas came Vidura.[2] He married a local women and had two sons from her : one named Makrah and the other Bhot. Bhot married Sarangi from Bhotant and the two cooked the meat of wild cow and ate it. Considering his brother and sister-in-law as impure, Makrah left the place and settled at a different place where he was crowned as ruler. This place became famous as Makarhar and the territory as Makrsa. Makarhar is presently identified with Hurla or Gadsa, both lying close to each other and opposite to Hat or Bajaura. Bhot continued to rule from Jagatsukh. The ancient name of Jagatsukh, the earliest capital of Kulu, was Nast.

The two do not appear to have had any offspring and the rule passed on to the local chiefs, the Thakurs and the Ranas.

Bihangmanipal was the third eminent person to arrive on this beautiful and attractive land, after Parasurama and Vidura. He founded the kingdom of Kullu and was the progenitor of the line of the rulers of the kingdom. He came from Mayapuri[3] and belonged to a Kshatriya ruling family.

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Bihangmani, the wanderer, was discovered sleeping on a big stone slab known as Jagatipat.[4] Bihangmani looked physically quite superior. The people of the area were on the look out for a person who could be a better substitute of the Ranas and Thakurs. Finally, he was crowned as the Raja of the area. During this period the people were much oppressed by the Thakurs. Hardyal refers to them as Piti Thakurs. But Hutchison and Vogel refer to them merely as Thakurs and the Piti Thakurs make their appearance slightly later in their account.

Harcourt gathers that Bihangmani and Parasram were brothers, but at the same time he rules out the possibility on the ground that there was the long gap between the period of the two legendary personages. In fact, Parasurama is believed to have lived sometime around 1500 BC and Bihangmani is supposed to have lived during *circa* first-second century AD. Despise this, others still maintain that the two were brothers (Gazetteers 1899 : 16; Forbes 1911 : 155). We may argue the issue from another angle. Even if the two were contemporaneous, yet consanguineal relationship between the two could not have been possible for the reason that Bihangmani was a Kshatriya while Parasram or Parasuram came from Brahmin caste, born especially with the lifetime mission of saving the *brahmins* from the tyranny of the *kshatriyas*.

The *Vamsavali* depicts the ancestors of the Rajas of Kullu, who like that of most other hill states, having immigrated from the distant lands and hailing from superior family. As against this, the native Ranas and Thakurs are shown as cruel, selfish and taking pleasure in fighting among themselves.

Pachhpal, elder of the two sons of Bihangmanipal, assumed the reign of the kingdom after the death of his father and continued expansion of the territory. Narendrapal, the younger one, died fighting with the Rana of Larva (Burua ?). The Rana too was killed in the struggle and his territory was acquired by the Raja.

Bhagpal, Hinpal or Durhinpal and Svargapal followed Pachhpal, one after the other. Svargapal had two sons, named Shaktipal and Jangpal or Janakpal, born from two different *ranis*, but at the same time. A dispute therefore arose for the heirship to the throne. The subjects of the state suggested to divide the territory into two equal parts, but the royal priest argued that since Shaktipal was from the senior *rani*, he was the real heir. Accordingly, Shaktipal was enthroned as the Raja.

Thereafter, came Mahidharpal (V1 = Mahisarpal or Mahinder Pal), Ompal, Anantpal and Rajendrapal, successively. V1 omits the name of Anantpal from the list of rulers. When Rajendrapal took over the reign, Kothi Barsai was under the rule of Rana Surat Chand, whose only heir was his daughter Sarup Sundari or Rup Sundari. She proved to be a tough ruler and when demand was made from her for tribute she boldly declined to pay. The Raja then sent force against her. He lost eleven of his sons in the battle. But when he sent his last and the youngest son with a message for her, she offered to marry the prince. The Raja was too pleased to accept the offer.

Rajendrapal, after Barsai, attacked Naggar, killing Rana Karam Chand and capturing his territory. He shifted his capital to Naggar and started living there. V1 suggests that the capital of Kullu was shifted from Jagatsukh to Naggar in the time of Visudhapal, the second successor of Rajinderpal, and Shastri (1911 : 262) switches over the occasion further to another generation to the time of Uttampal.

Basrapal, Visudhapal or Vasudhapal, Uttampal, Dhujapal (V1 = Dvijpal), ruled in succession thereafter. V1 substitutes Visudhapal for Basrapal's name. Dhujpal annexed the area of Rumsu. The rulers who followed him were Chakrapla, Karanpal and Surajpal.

Here at this juncture, c. fourth century AD, V1 makes reference to 'Piti Thakurs', which

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literally means the 'Chiefs of Piti or Spiti'. Various scholars have identified them as 'Tibetan Officers'. Spiti itself has no record to testify such an antique reference. The period when these chiefs made their first appearance on the scene of history of Kullu is not known, but they kept their presence in Kullu, effective till AD 1500. V2 mentions them as occupying a portion of Kullu even before the advent of Bihangmanipal.

Hutchison and Vogel give description of these Chiefs in greater detail : "At that early period there is mention of one Piti Thakur, who lived at Rumsu above Naggar, and apparently held possession of a portion of the Upper Bias Valley towards the Hamta Pass, near the head of which are still to be seen the ruins of the fort ascribed to him. There would seem to have been many in succession bearing this name which was really a title, meaning the 'Spiti Lord', as they came from Spiti. One of them is said to have been killed in the fighting about this time. From an early period the Tibetans of Spiti seem to have been in the habit of making incursions into Kulu, and they seized territory to the south of the high passes, but being unable to live at a lower altitude than 7000 to 8000 feet they never advanced into the main valley. Each of the Tibetan leader was called 'Piti Thakur' by the Kullu people. They were still in possession as late as the reign of Sidh Singh AD 1500, by whom they were finally driven out" (Hutchison and Vogel, II : 432-433).

Oachhpal or Rachhpal (V1 = Rakshpal) succeeded Surajpal, and died without any heir. His brothers quarrelled among themselves, contesting for the throne. But when the Ranas of the nearby areas hatched a design to take advantage of this uncertain state of affairs, they again united themselves recognising their eldest brother Rudrapal as Raja and overpowered the enemies. According to V2, Raja Indrasen of Chamba, who is also said to have been ruling over a part of Lahul, captured some areas of Kullu at this time. However, Rudrapal regained the territory agreeing to pay tribute. In regard to V1, Vogel holds that it was rather Rajendra Sen of Spiti who attacked Kullu, or it might have been possibly a combined force of Spiti and Chamba (His. II : 434-435). Rudrapal and his successor Hamirpal too paid tribute to Spiti (V1) or Chamba (V2).

Prasidhapala, who succeeded his father, stopped paying tribute to Chetabsen or Chetsen, after the death of the latter's father Indrasena. Two versions of the *Vamsavali* maintain divergent views : while V2 identifies Chetabsena as son of Indrasena of Chamba, V1 recognised Chetsena as Raja of Spiti. In both versions a fight ensued below the Rohtang pass in which Kullu emerged victorious and freed itself from alien encumbrance.

Prasidhapala was followed by Harichandapala, Subhatapala, Somapala, and Sansarapala, in succession. V2 records that after Chetasen's defeat by Kullu, Spiti was invaded by Gya Murr Orr and Chetsen was defeated and killed. The ruler of Gya Murr Hor then granted some villages in *jagir* to Chetsen's son and three villages of Spiti to Sansarpala of Kullu, who had assisted the former, retaining the remainder of Spiti under his own control. Vogel suggests that the incident might have occurred sometime about AD 600-650.

The country of Gya Murr Orr cannot be identified with any certitude. Vogel has taken it for either Ladak or Rupshu. These two areas, however, never bore such name. There are two villages in Ladak named Gya and Meru, both situated adjacent to each other on the border with Lahul, and often referred to jointly as Gyameru, locally. However, we have no knowledge of the political situation of Ladak during those days. This was nevertheless the time of the rise and expansion of the Tibetan empire under Srong brTsan sGampo (629-650), when Zhang Zhung which lies close Himachal too was invaded.

Then came the rule of Bhogapala. His claim was contested by his brother. Bhogapal was

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killed in the strife between the two. Then Bhulpala or Bhuvipala, son of Bhogapala sat on the throne directly after his father, killing his uncle and taking revenge of his father's murder. Bhuvipala was followed by Brahmapala. He had no legitimate issue. Therefore, Ganeshapala, an illegitimate son, was made his successor with the permission of the Rajas of Suket, Ladak, Bushahar, and Kangra. Yet he failed to gain recognition from his own subjects.

V1, differing slightly, holds that Bhogapala was succeeded by his brother Vibhayapala and he in turn was followed by Brahmapala.

Yagyapala (V1 = Gambhirpala) became the next Raja, after Ganeshapala. His two sons Bhumipala and Sakapala (V1 = Sukhapala) quarrelled, each claiming right over the throne in which the latter was killed and Bhumipala succeeded his father. His son Dattesharpala, who had succeeded his father, died in the war with the Raja of Chamba. Vogel ascribes this incident to the period of Meruvarman's (*circa* AD 680-700) expansionist reign (Hist. II : 435). It is said that Goverdhana was then Raja of Indrapat (Delhi). Dateshar's son Amarpal went to take his place but he too was killed. Subsequently, all the sons of Amarpala, except Silapala (V1 = Sitalpala), met with the same fate. Silapala went to Bushahar seeking refuge, but he did not survive for long. Then his son Jhadisharpal, who was still young, with the assistance from the Raja of Bushahar, regained control over the kingdom of Kullu.

Vogel states : "There the family seems to have remained for some time, as Sitalpal and five of his descendants never reigned, and probably were all the time at the Bushahar court as political refugees. Meantime Kullu seems to have been under the rule of Chamba" (Hist. II : 435). V2, however, lends no support to this fact : in fact it shows Jhadisharpala, whom V1 claims as the sixth in descent from Sitalpal or Silapala, as his immediate successor. As such the sway of Chamba over Kullu could not last longer than one generation.

Jadhisharpal was followed by Prakashapal, Ajnabarpala (V1 = Achambapala), Taptesharpal (V1 = Tapanesharpal), Punyesharpal, Parampala, Nagendarpala and Naradpala, V1 omits the name of Punyesharpala and adds that of Parampala between Nagendarpala and Naradapala.

Naradapala too had to face an encounter with Chamba. This time the war lasted for twelve years and Naradapala built a fort at Majnukot, below the Rohtang pass. Ultimately an agreement was reached that both the parties would abstain from waging war against each other. Kullu, however, found it difficult to forget the old misdeeds of Chamba. As an evil design they invited the Chamba men on the pretext of feast at Manali. In the darkness of night when the Chamba people were crossing the bridge over the Manali Nala, they fell down into the river, owning to planks of the bridge having been removed. Most of the Chamba soldiers perished in the disaster; those left behind had to take to their heels.

Narottamapala, Sakhapala (V1 = Shishapala) and Bhupala or Bhupa-Pala ruled, thereafter, one by one. In Bhupala's time, the Raja of Suket conquered Kullu and it was made to pay tribute to Suket. His successor Janrudhpal (V1 = Aniruddhapala) continued paying tribute to Suket. He was followed by Hastapala. At this time, the annals of Suket record that when Raja Vikrama Sena proceeded on pilgrimage to Hardwar, he left the charge of the country in the hands of his brother Trivikrama Sena, who, however, desired to become an independent Raja. Therefore he freed Kullu of the burden of levy which was then being ruled by Hastapal, on the promise that on the return of his brother, Hastapal would assist Trivikrama Sena. Vikrama Sena on his return from the holy journey attacked on Suket with the help of Keonthal. Hastapala came for help of Trivikram Sena. The battle was fought at Jeori on the bank of Satluj. Both the Rajas, Hastapala and Trivikrama Sena were killed. Vikrama Sena then invaded Kullu also and gave the state in *jagir* to Hastapala's son Surpala. V1 maintains that three generations after

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Hastapala, namely Dhani Ram, Gopala Das and Lachhmi Das remained *jagirdars* of Suket. According to V2 Surpal succeeded his father Hastapal and does not enumerate the above three names, none of whom bears surname Pala.

After Hastapal his successor Surpal (V1 = Suratpala) continued to pay tribute to the Raja of Suket but after sometime he was able to free Kullu and gain independence. But a large area still remained in the hands of Suket. These were : Waziri Rupi, Lag, Saraj and part of Waziri Parol.

Santokhpal followed Surpal. He seized some part of Lahul which was under the occupation of Chamba and imposed levy of *chamvar* (yak tail), *kasturi* (musk), and *gonth* (mules). On the other hand, V1 holds Santokhpala having conquered Gya Murr Orr and other portions of the territory.

Then came Teghpala. Muhammad Khan of Baltistan invaded Kullu during Teghpal's reign who died while opposing the enemy. Mohammad Khan fixed tributes on Kochetpal, Raja's son and returned the territory to his kins. Kochetpal (V1 = Uchitpal) continued to pay tribute for sometime but stopped soon. Then he annexed five villages from Lahul. V1 gives an account which is entirely different : "Teghpal conquered Baltistan, killing the Chief, named Mohammad Khan, and making his son tributary" (Hist. II : 438).

Of about this period the two eleventh century copper plate inscriptions from Chamba indicate that during the time of Sahillavarman (tenth century AD) the royal families of Kullu and Chamba were connected by marriage, and further that Sahillavarman in alliance with Kangra (Trigarta) and Kullu (Kuluta) repulsed the combined attack of the Saumatikas and the Kira troops of the Raja of Durgara. Kullu at this time also owed allegiance to Chamba (Vogel 1911 : 195).

During the reign of Chanderpal (V1 = Sikanderpal), son of Kochetpal, the *raja* of Chamba, attacked Kullu in collusion with Balistan (Balstistan) and Lasa (Lhasa) and arrested Chanderpal and imprisoned him in the fort of Mongda. Vogel presumes that this was perhaps the invasion of Lha Chen Utpala (circa 1080-1110) on *Nyungti* (Kullu) referred to in the Chronicles of Ladak. Petech, however, finds no connection between the two references because of the time gap between the regnal period of the two kings.

After sometime when Chanderpal became free, he went in appeal before the Emperor at Delhi, stating that the Tibetans had occupied all his territories and that they intended to move further down. On hearing this, the Emperor led a campaign personally and Chanderpal was reinstated. Harcourt remarks this as a 'curious record'.

Perhaps it pertains to about this time that an inscription on the *mohra* (copper mask) of Devi or Rani Sujuni dated AD 1026 written in old Nagari and Sarada script has been discovered from the Parasurama temple of Nirmand. In the absence of any relationship of the valuable finding with any person or incident the instance stands alone.

The *Chronicles of Ladak* record that Lha Chen Utpala invaded Nyungti i.e. Kulu. The king of Kullu bound himself by oath that so long as the glaciers of Ti-se (Kailash) do not melt away, nor the lake Ma-Pham (Mansarovar) dry up, to pay tribute or dues to the king of Ladak, viz. *dsos* (yak-bullock), iron, etc. This treaty remained in force till the reign of bDe-ldan rNam-rgyal (1620-45).

After the battle of Basgo in 1647, the treaty with Kullu was apparently changed into a trade contract and trade continued till the Sikh rule. Kullu sent iron which was carried by the Lahulis and Ladakis in exchange for the supply of sulphur from Ladak (Francke 1908, II : 96). The *Vamsavali* of Kullu does not mention this encounter with Ladak but have some references which are suggestive of this.

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The following were the Rajas after Chanderpala : Saraspala, Sahdevapal, Mahadevapala and Tirpatipala, (V1 = Niratipala). According to V1, Ali Sher Khan, the ruler of Kashmir, was contemporary to Niratipal or Tirpatipal, whom Vogel identifies with Alisher (AD 1315-63), but at the same time he finds it difficult to reconcile it and says that it might refer to some later date of Kullu. Bainpal and Hanatpal (V1 = Hastpal II) were the next Rajas. Bushahar invaded Kullu during the reign of Hanatpala and exacted tribute.

In 1143 Mandi separated from Suket, since the ruler Raja Sahu Sen quarrelled with his younger brother Bahu Sen and left Suket to seek his fortune elsewhere. He retired to Manglor, now in Kullu, and there he made himself master of the territory around it. After his death, nine more rulers followed. Karanchan Sena, the eleventh Raja was killed in AD 1278 in the battle against the Raja of Kullu, and his Rani, who was then pregnant, fled alone to her father's house who was chief of Shivkot in Mandi.

Shasipal or Sasipala and Gambhirpala followed in succession. Gambhirpala, with the help of Suket fought against Bushahar and freed Kullu and fixed the river Satluj as boundary between Kullu and Bushahar.

Thereafter, Nishudanpala, Narendrapala, Santokhpala and Nandapala succeeded respectively. During the reign of Nandapala, Kangra attacked Kullu and having won the areas near Mandi, levied tribute of *chamvar, kasturi* and *gonth*. Goetz is referring perhaps to this incident when he says that 'we have definite information that Raja Narendarpal had been made a vassal of Trigarta" (Goetz 1969 : 103). Then followed Dhartipal and after him Inderpal. He stopped the payment of exaction to Kangra, upon which Kangra dispatched force to impose the terms. Kullu repulsed the enemy forces fighting bravely and the Kangra troops had to return without any success. Thus Kullu was able to free itself.

Inderpala was succeeded by Mahichakarpala, followed by Buddhpala, Rattanchandpala, Kharalpala, respectively. V1 mentions Jayachanderpala in place of both Buddhpala and Rattanchandpala.

During the reign of Kharalpala, Madan Sen, the Raja of Suket, invaded Kullu again and captured some territory and, fixed Seons village in Kothi Manali as the boundary. Madan Sen also built a fort named Madanpur in the area of Khokhan. He granted the area of Lag to one of his priests as atonement for the sin said to have been committed by the Raja himself. Lag then grew into an independent state and remained so till it was overpowered by Jagat Singh of Kullu. In the annals of Suket, this incident is related with Parbat Sena, *circa* AD 1500. This may be accepted as more reliable.

After Kharalpal, Hanspal, Agastpal, Madanpal, Buddhpal, Dhanpal or Urdhanpal ruled in succession. V1 drops Buddhpal's name from the list of the reigning Rajas.

Two inscriptions of the period of Urdhanpal have been found : one from the Hidimba Devi mask which has been dated to AD 1418 and the other to AD 1428 (Shastri 1911 : 267; Hist. II : 441-442). The temple of Sandhya Devi at Jagatsukh is attributed to him while some others hold that he only reconstructed it on some ancient model. On the basis of these inscriptions Vogel proposed Urdhanpala's regnal period between these two dates, i.e. AD 1418 and 1428. However, this can be taken as the minimum period and the actual reigning period could be longer.

Rajatarangini of Jonaraja notes that king Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir (1420-1470) took the town of Kuluta (Kullu), which he found to be under the occupation of Tibetans, in the course of his expedition to Goggadesh (Guge) and Sayadesh (Ladak) (Sahni and Francke 1908 : 188). As is already known Kullu was at this time in a loose way feudatory of Ladak.

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We cannot be certain whether it was as a consequence of Zain-ul-Abidin's campaign, as no reference is made to Kangra in the description of his victorious campaign, or otherwise, but Sansar Chand I of Kangra who ascended the throne in *circa* AD 1430 was feudatory to Muhammed Shah, as the Kangra Jawalamukhi *prasasti* of the temple of Bhavani in Bhawan, a suburb of Kot Kangra records (Buhler 1892 : 191). Cunningham, and Hutchison and Vogel (Hist I : 136) identify him with Muhammad Saiyid, Emperor of Delhi who ruled between AD 1433-1446. Gupta (188 : 43), however, identifies Sahi Muhammed with the Sultan of Kashmir who existed between AD 1481 and 1530. If this is true it must be as a consequence of the Zain-ul-Abidin's expedition.

It is interesting to note that the Phugthal Bo-yig, the *Chronicle of Zanskar*, ascribes the Raja of *Nyungti* i.e. Kullu having made offering of the regions of the monasteries of Chhos-sku-tsi, Zholing, Gyemur gre-gri-mos and the upper and lower part of Zhi-bde valley (Francke 1926, II : 160). All these places are located in the Bhaga valley of Lahul. Francke suggests that the note might be referring to the period earlier than the conquest of Lahul by Kullu in *circa* AD 1650, "for after that the conquest had taken place the kings of Kulu could hardly have allowed the taxes of certain villages to go to a foreign country' (Francke 1926, II : 161, Notes). Perhaps Jang-sems She-rab Zangpo was related in some way to these grants. He was the pupil of Tsonkhapa, the founder of the Gelugpa sect, who worked as a missionary in converting the followings of the old sects of Buddhism into the reformed sect in the areas of Ladak, Zanskar, Spiti and Lahul, and belonged to fifteenth century. Thus the incident might relate to *circa* AD 1450.

Kailashpal or Kashyap Pala followed Urdhanpal. No important incident is known about him.

Notes

1. Paras Ram or Parasu Ram, the first Rama and the sixth Avatara of Vishnu, was a Brhamin, the fifth son of Jamadagni and Renuka. In the Mahabharata he instructed Arjuna in the use of arms. He appears in the Tretayuga for the purpose of repressing the tyranny of the Kshatriya or warrior caste. He also appears in the Ramayana, but chiefly as an opponent of Ramachandra.
2. Vidur is a character in the Mahabharata, son of Vyasa by sudra slave girl who took the place of his consort. He enjoyed the character of the "wisest of the wise" and gave good advice to both Kauravas and Pandavas, but in the war he sided with the latter.
3. Mayapuri is a place near Haridwar (N.L. Dey 1929 : 129). Besides Kullu, there are several states which also claim origin of their rulers from Mayapuri. These are : Balor (Bashohli), Bhadu, Bhadrawah and Batol (Hutchison and Vogel : II : 428). The original suffix of all these families was Pal. The royal families of Kullu and Balor claim to have been separate offshoots from the same parent stem. Hutchison and Vogel hold that Balor was rather an offshoot of Kullu, since Kullu was founded not later than the first or second century AD and Balor or Vallapuri in the eighth century.
4. Jagatipat : Hardyal informs that the stone slab on which Bihangmanipal, the founder king of Kullu, is said to have been found sleeping and which people know by the name of Jagtipat, was lying at Jagatsukh above the main road during his time (AD. 1880).

   Presently a stone slab measuring 5′ × 8′ and of six inches thickness in dimension, also known as Jagatipat is placed in a small shed in the courtyard of the castle, the old palace of the rajas of Kullu at Naggar, which since 1978 has been converted into a Hotel

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by the H.P. Tourism Dev. Corporation. The people as well as the information displayed on a board in the castle, associate it with a legend that it was bought by the honeybees from somewhere above Vashishtha and placed here. They consider it as a object of worship and believe that all the gods of Kullu-*Tharah Karadu* - assemble here to deliberate on matters concerning the world. Nobody knows if it is related to the founder king of the district going back above 2000 years.

On enquiry it was learnt that there is no such object named Jagatipat in the vicinity of Jagatsukh nor at any other place except the one at Naggar. In fact Rose (1883, III : 266) reports the existence of the sacred object at Naggar in 1883 and this information must have been gathered much earlier, because the voluminous work of Rose is based on the Census Report of 1881 which naturally takes long time. Hardyal's statement that it was lying near Jagatsukh is therefore does not appear to be authentic. This, nevertheless, suggests that the stone originally lay at Jagatsukh as there is no relevance of its being at Vashishtha, although it situated close to Jagatsukh. Perhaps the Rajas of Kullu had knowledge of this and they must have shifted it at the time when the capital of Kullu was transferred from Jagatsukh to Naggar.

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CHAPTER 11

SINGH DYNASTY

I. SIDH SINGH (AD 1500-1532)

The beginning of sixteenth century marks a turning point in the history of Kullu. The ruling family acquired the family name of 'Singh', in lieu of the ancient 'Pal'. The *Vamsavali* too becomes more elaborate and corroborative evidences are available from independent sources.

The century began with the reign of Raja Sidh Singh, a prominent Raja in the history of Kullu. V1 states that Sidh Singh, belonging to a royal family, came from Mayapuri to Hat in Kullu, whence he proceeded to Jagatsukh and, in almost under similar circumstances as Bihangmanipal, acquired royal status with the blessings of the goddess Hidimba. Thus the entire episode of Bihangmanipal, the founder of the kingdom, is applied *mutatis mutandis* for Sidh Singh. From this story one feels that the Pal dynasty came to an end somehow and then Sidh Singh, an immigrant prince, founded a new dynasty.

Vogel's view that there was a gap of more than half a century between the reign of Kailashpal, the last king in the line of Pal and his successor Sidh Singh, lends strong support to the above premise. But in the same breath he holds that Sidh Singh "was descended from Pal family and he himself originally bore the same suffix" (Hist. 1933, II : 443), suggesting that there was continuity in the line of rulers which seems to be the real position.

The objective behind the allusion to the episode of Mayapuri to Sidh Singh appears to be that the person(s) who reviewed the *Vamsavali* desired to accord a higher status to his master. Therefore he adorned the description with a legend giving lofty origin to Sidh Singh himself. V2 deletes the repetition of the story and shows Sidh Singh as a direct descendant to the line of the rulers.

As regards Sidh Singh assuming the surname 'Singh' the story is narrated in detail in both versions of the *Vamsavali*. Sidh Pal in a valorous deed saved the life of a cow, a very sacred animal, from the brutal claws of a ferocious lion. The Raja was thereafter greeted with the title of Singh (lion) which became the surname of the family line and he himself was named Sidh Singh in place of Sidh Pal.

The dynasty, hereafter, is also known by the name of Badani (Rose 1883, III : 316), or Koli (Massy 1890 : 386), or Kolua, Kola (Hist. II : 428).

Raja Sidh Singh was the son of Kailashpal and had ascended the throne some time prior to AD 1500. Hutchison and Vogel give the date of his accession as AD 1500 whereas Hardayal puts the date as AD 1486. The proposition of Hutchison and Vogel is based on the evidence

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of a metal *mohra* dating AD 1500 which Sidh Singh dedicated to Vishnu at Sajla near Jagatsukh (Postel 1985 : 229), and presumed this as the date of the beginning of his reign. We do not know the basis on which Hardyal found this date but undoubtedly the date on the *mohra* also cannot form the basis for determining the date of accession of Sidh Singh, for there is no such tradition, nor is there instance in case of any other Raja. It must have been done some years after his accession to the throne. As such Hardyal's proposition may be admitted in this case as more reliable.

The authors of the *History of the Punjab Hill States* state that between Kailashpal and Sidh Pal there was an interregnum of about 50 years or more. At the same time they also admit that there was no break in the lineage of the rulers. Urdhanpal, Kailashpal and Sidh Pal were all rulers of the same family and ruled one after the other.

Sidh Pal donated a *mohra* to Ramchandra *rath* at Vashistha which bears his name (Postel 1985 : 227). The inscription on the *mohra* of Vishnu at Sajla dated AD 1500 assumes importance from another angle as it records Sidh Pal as the Raja of Kullu and Lahul (Postel 1985 : 229). This is the earliest and one of the few records discovered in Kullu throwing light on its relations with Lahul. In Lahul, however, several references are available in the form of inscriptions and other documents. The earliest of them relates to Bahadur Singh (1532-1559), successor of Sidh Singh. This document makes it clear that by AD 1500 Lahul, at least a part, had become tributary to Kullu. The *Vamsavali* contains no reference in this regard.

Sidh Singh's earliest conquest was of Kothi Baragarh which was under the dominion of Rana Bhosal of Hat (Bajaura). Bhosal is still a name surviving in several stories among the people. Bajaura, where the ancient temple of Visvesvara Mahadeva stands is called Hat. There is also another village nearby named Bhosa which too could have some connection with Bhosal Raja. In one of the stories he is stated to have got his queen Rupini murdered on the advice of his minister Mohta (or Teeta). The minister's interest in the affairs was that he wanted his sister to be married to the Raja. But this could not be accomplished so long as the first queen was alive. Hatching a plot, therefore, the minister ordered to be constructed a *kuhl* (water channel). In order to repel the influence of the evil spirits and successful completion of the task, he advised the Rana for queen Rupini's sacrifice. She had a son and a daughter named Ghungru and Godri, respectively. The same story is related in Lahul in the form of a song. The two stories resemble very closely, even including the names of characters, except that in Lahul it is the Rana of Ghosal, instead of Rana Bhosal (Tobdan and Dorje 1996 : 12). The story in Lahul goes like this. Once the villagers of Gushal had to face extreme scarcity of water. An oracle from Chamba, after consulting the sacred books, advised the Rana, the local chief, to arrange for human sacrifice from the former's own family. The Rana pondered : "If I give my daughter Gongiridhi, whom shall I marry to the prince of Chamba ? If I give my son Ghungru, who will run the family line?" So in the end he decided to sacrifice his queen Rupi. The Chief's men allured the Rani to be taken to a fair. She was led through jungle where, in the way, by a play of trick she was burried alive under the ground.

Another story about Rana Bhosal goes in Kullu like this : One villager in his kingdom came to sell pumpkins in the bazaar of Hat. He had twelve pieces, but there were eighteen claimants as tax collectors. He delivered one each to the twelve of them and satisfied the others somehow. Then he went to Rana Bhosal with a complaint, but there was no one to care for his appeal. The saying then became famous :

Barah pethe atharah dani,
Bhosal raja sar na jani.

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There were twelve pumpkins and eighteen claimants; Bhosal Raja failed to understand the implication.

After Baragarh, Sidh Singh conquered Bandal and Gohri in Kothi Kais which were then tributaries of the Raja of Suket. The two Thakurs were killed in the battle. During this time, i.e. the beginning of the sixteenth century Mandi emerged as a separate state.

Another powerful ruler whom Sidh Singh had to face was Jinna Rana whose territory was located around Manali and the story of his subjugation by Sidh Singh is related in detail by Hutchison and Vogel (Hist. II : 445-447).

Yet another strong foe which Sidh Singh had to encounter was the 'Piti Thakur'. In reality Piti Thakur was a title representing the Thakurs from Spiti who held sway over certain parts of upper Kullu. Howell gives account of them : "At the beginning of the sixteenth century AD certain forts above the Kullu valley were undoubtedly held by Tibetan Officers. The most unpopular of these was the Piti Thakur (this is probably a description rather than a name), the remains of whose fort are plainly traceable on a spur above Jagatsukh. His place of worship was the Prini temple of the Great God Jamlu at the foot of the approach to the Hamta. In this temple to this day alone of all the temples in Kullu-the Spiti men go to make offering; all other races must take their shoes off in the temple premises, but Lamaists go in fully shod; and when he is inspired the local prophet at the shrine speaks language which he claims (and a not hyper critical congregation allows) to be Tibetan. He always maintains that the god came from Bhutant (Tibet), Chin (China) or 'Pangu Padul', Mansarowar." Incidentally this is an interesting commentary on the (partially) Tibetan origin of the Malana people-the disciples and incarnations of Jamlu. They certainly represent one of the advanced posts of Tibetan influence flanking (be it noted) the ancient trade route, which I always failed to explore, from the Malana Glen to the Chandra Valley" (Howell 1917 : 71).

The fort attributed to Piti Thakurs, situated above Jagatsukh has been studied recently in detail by Howard (1995 : 113–115).

An example contrary to this also is found in Spiti. L.W. Dane, Asstt. Commissioner, Kullu, who had visited Spiti in 1884, noticed ruins of an old building in Pin valley at the junction of 'Pin and Buldur nalahs', known to the local residents as *Nyungti Khar* i.e. Kullu Fort. In his view, it was built by Jagat Singh while invading Bushahar, "as the legend runs that he reached Manikaran first on his return journey and devoted the spoils to the enrichment of the temple of Ragunathji there" (Gazetteer 1899, Appendix : 125). It must have been the ruins of some regular post, just as we see many of them on its borders, guarding on the borders against the entry of enemy forces from Spiti, Bushahar or Guge. However, we cannot say anything about its date. As regards the 'spoils taken to Manikaran', it was Man Singh, rather than Jagat Singh. Hardyal maintains that Sidh Singh ruled for 40 years and died in 1524.

He was succeeded by Bahadur Singh.

II. BAHADUR SINGH (1532-1559)

On his accession to the throne, Bahadur Singh made Rupi, which was still under Suket, the first target of his campaign for regaining the lost territories of Kullu. He recovered the *kothis* of Harkandi, Kanawar, Chong, Kotkandi, Chhanor, Bhosa, Tandi in Bhallan and Shanshar and brought whole of Rupi under his sway.

Bahadur Singh built a palace at Makarhar, the site of ancient capital which was deserted long

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before. About this, Rose remarks : "As for Bahadur Singh, Makrah was doubtless a convenient place for residence for him during the time that his generals were campaigning in Saraj... He would be quite safe at Makrah and in touch at once with Nagar and the army in the field" (Rose 1883, I : 486).

His next move was towards Saraj. He conquered Shanghar. The Thakurs of Basahri and Manahri were captured and they acknowledged the Raja's suzerainty. They were made *jagirdars*. Fort of Banogi belonging to one of these Thakurs was pulled down. He then advanced through Shirikot towards Thunag whose Thakur was killed while opposing the Raja.

The Thakur of Bahragarh was besieged in his fort. Then he advanced to Kothi Sarchai and the Thakur surrendered without resistance. The Thakur of Choni was killed while in action. Thus Bahadur Singh completed the campaign for expansion and consolidation of his kingdom.

Bahadur Singh constructed the temple of Hidimba in pagoda style at Dhungri near Manali. An inscription in the temple mentions the date of its construction as AD 1553. The style was introduced into the district for the first time. The temple is a fine example of workmanship of the local art on wood, displayed in the wood carvings of the temple. He is stated to have granted *jagirs* to various *devatas*.

A reference to king Bahadur Singh is found in the Chronicle of the Thakurs of Tinan in Lahul stating that Dharamraj Bidur (= Bahadur) Singh resides in his capital at Magarsa (Naggar) and that Lahul is under his suzerainty. This indicates that at least the Chandra valley was tributary of Bahadur Singh. At the same time, we find a reference in the Chronicles of Ladak of conquering Kullu by Tshewang Namgyal (1532-60) of Ladak (Francke 1926, II : 105).

His relations with Chamba were very cordial. From a copper-plate inscription discovered from Chamba, we learn that Raja Bahadur Singh made a grant of land at Hat on the occasion of the marriage of his three daughters named Sunu, Ganga and Rango in 1559 with the Raja of Chamba (Vogel 1957 : 202).

III. PRATAP SINGH (1559-1575)

Bahadur Singh was succeeded by Pratap Singh and Parbat Singh, consecutively. Both versions of the *Vamsavali* uphold this fact. However two locally extant documents place the two Rajas in reverse order, that is Parbat Singh as predecessor of Pratap Singh. The first document is the *sanad* issued by Raja Pritam Singh to one Bhagat Ram, a *purohit* (priest) from Dhalpur in the year 61 (= AD 1785) and the second is again a *sanad* granted by Raja Jit Singh to one Bodhu Ram, *purohit* from Dhalpur, in the year V. *Sambat* 1877 (= AD 1820). Both the *sanads* enumerate the genealogy of the Rajas beginning from Sidh Singh to the respective donor Raja, proving that the families of these *purohits* had been serving all these generations of the Rajas. Another noteworthy fact common in both the documents is that they start the genealogy of the Rajas from Sidh Singh only. Since no detail is available from any other quarter regarding these two Rajas which could help us in fixing the dates or corroborating the above facts, we follow the sequence as given in the *Vamsavalis*.

A reference about Pratap Singh is found in the Mandi records : "The Raja of Lag in Kullu had been for sometime defying his liege lord Partap Singh, Raja of Kullu. Finding Sahib Sen so intent upon enlarging his territories, Partap Singh proposed to him a conjunction of the forces of Kullu and Mandi with a view to reducing the Raja of Lag to submission. The Fruits of the alliance were to be equally shared between the allies. Fortunately for the alliance, the

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combined forces of Kullu and Mandi were successful and thus Saraj Mandi passed into the hands of Sahib Sen" (Manmohan 1930 : 24).

It may be noted here that the regnal period of the two Rajas coincided only for two years - 1559 and 1560 - the two last years of Sahib Sen and the initial two years of Pratap Singh. Hardyal, in his history of Mandi, and also Griffin (1870 : 633) give name of Kullu Raja as Jagat Singh in place of Pratap Singh. But then Sahib Sen was not contemporaneous with Jagat Sigh. Mention of Pratap Singh (Pitib Singh) in the Barbog document from Lahul, commemorating the preparation of a new copy of the Zamatog-sutra, indicates the supermacy of Kullu extending over part of the Bhaga valley of Lahul (Francke 1926, II : 218).

IV. PARBAT SINGH (1575-1608)

Pratap Singh was succeeded by Parbat Singh (AD 1575-1608). No event of the reign of this Raja too is found recorded in the *Vamsavali*. Lahul continued to be a tributary of Kullu since we find at least two inscriptions from Lahul acceding to the suzerainty of Parbat Singh whose lofty residence, the document says, is situated at Magrsa (Tobdan and Dorje 1996 : 23).

Parbat Singh's reign synchronised with that of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. Although no written record is available, there is a popular oral tradition extant in Kullu relating that Jamlu, the most powerful god of Kullu, helped in curing the deformity in the person of the emperor's daughter. The emperor, as a gift offered a golden image to Jamlu. Jamlu resides in Malana, situated at the head of a narrow valley near the top of the mountain range between Naggar and Jari which few outsiders could approach. There is no definite information about the exact nature of the image. The Gazetteer records that it was "a golden image of an elephant" (Gazetteer 1899 : 51) while Chetwode (1972 : 94) writes as "golden image of the Emperor Akbar". Chandershekhar Bebas supposes that it might be a golden image of an elephant. During the fairs held at Malana, people coming from distant villages make offering, "the prescribed form of which is small silver model of a horse or of an elephant" (Gazetteer 1899 : 51). G.M. Young saw the fair at Malana in 1911 (vide page 11).

V. PRITHI SINGH (1608-1635)

No incident or important fact of Prithi Singh's reign is recorded in the *Vamsavali*.

Azevedo, a Portuguese missionary, after travelling through Guge, Ladak, and Lahul passed through Kullu while returning to the plains of India in AD 1631. In his tour diary he records : "Magrsa is the capital of kingdom of Cullu (Kullu) situated on a mountain valley, intersected by many rivulets and adorned with splendid cedars" (Wassels 1924 : 116). He gives fascinating description of the country even though he had to face an unpleasant incident when a kinsman of the Raja relieved him of his horse and some other important possessions who for the rest, he says, received him, during the absence of the Raja, well. The traveller, however, has not mentioned the name of the ruler.

Azevedo was in fact the first European to have visited Kullu and admire one of the most fascinating countries of the Himalayas. About Mandi, he remarks that it was tributary to the Mughal, but he is quiet on this point in respect of Kullu.

An interesting record is available of an event of Prithi Singh's time in the tradition of Lahul, asserting that the Rajas of Suket, Mandi and Katoch Raja of Kangra made their personal appearance

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on the occasion of founding of the palace by Prithi Singh, and that a battle was fought at Bajaura against Mandi in which prominent *devis* and *devatas* of Kullu, and also Lord Gepang of Lahul, took part in the battle and Kullu won it (Tobdan and Dorje 1996 : 17). No corroborative evidence is available in this regard. Some other versions of the song mention the name of Raja Jeet Singh, i.e. Ajit Singh in place of Prithi Singh. This appears to be incorrect since no such battle was fought during the reign of Ajit Singh, with Mandi at Bajaura.

VI. KALYAN SINGH (1635-1637)

Kalyan Singh was the brother of Prithi Singh. V2 gives the name of this Raja as Man Singh, in place of Kalyan Singh. He ruled for two years and the reign was uneventful, for the *Vamsavali* is silent on this account. The reign of the Raja appears to have been assigned to Kalyan Singh or Man Singh, as a temporary measure, during the infancy of Jagat Singh, but later on he had to be removed from the throne forcibly with public help.

VII. JAGAT SINGH (1637-1672)

Raja Jagat Singh ascended the throne of the kingdom of Kullu in AD 1637 succeeding his father Kalyan Singh. The *Vamsavali* gives eulogistic sketch of his deeds. The approbation accorded to him is not without reason : enough corroborative evidence is available from independent sources about him in contrast to the other Rajas. In fact, Jagat Singh is recognised as the most powerful Raja in the entire history of Kullu.

Jagat Singh's most remarkable deed, according to the *Vamsavali*, was the installation of the statue of Raghunathji and introduction of Vaishnavism in his state after which the annual festival of Dussehra was also started. Dussehra is today celebrated with great zeal and is instrumental in placing Kullu on the international cultural map. Before the advent of Vaishnavism, Saivism was the state religion. This is evident from the most ancient *sikhara* temples dedicated to Saivism. "In Kulu, Thakur Gopal, the cowherd (Krishna) is worshipped by the former Gurus of the Rajas, though Saivism is prevalent" (Rose 1883, I : 261). Hardyal even says that *Natha* and *faqirs* were revered by the Rajas to the extent that they did not touch their meal till such time as they served the *Nathas* and *faqirs*, the followers of Siva. The practice of worshipping Siva and Durga was discontinued with this event.

How the incident occurred and what caused the Raja to bring the statue of Raghunathji from Ayodhya is narrated briefly in the following manner : A *brahmin* named Durgadatt resided in Pirdi village. Once his relations, bearing grudge against him made a false complaint to the Raja that he owned one *patha* of pearls. The Raja ordered the Brahmin to produce it before him, but the poor Brahmin plainly denied having any pearls. But when the Raja's men pressed him too hard, he submitted to the orders and promised to do so on the return of the Raja from his pilgrimage to Manikaran.

On Raja's return journey, when the Brahmin saw him approaching the village, he shut the members of his family in a room, and put the house on fire. He himself took a sharp knife and then cutting flesh from his body piece by piece, threw into the fire chanting the words : "Take, O Raja, take this pearl !", with each piece. Eventually the Brahmin pushed his own residual body into the blazing fire, turning it into ashes.

When the Raja was back in his palace from Manikaran, he was amazed to see worms in his

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meal in place of rice, and red blood in place of water. He became frightened at the ghastly sight. The Brahmin's murder was the root cause. The Raja searched for ways and means of exonerating himself. At that time Kishan Dass Pedhar, a *vairagi* (saint), a renowned pious man, lived in village Brahmin in Kothi Naggar. The saint advised the king to arrange to bring the image of Raghunathji from Ayodhya, assign the rule of Kullu to Raghunathji and adopt Vaishnavism as state religion. The pious act will absolve the king of all his sins. The *raja* agreed and executed the advice fully. Damodar Dass, a pupil of the *Vairagi*, took upon himself the responsibility of the holy task. The *Vamsavali* gives the details as to how the image was brought to Kullu.

The king abdicated the rule of the kingdom to Raghunathji and he himself became a tutelary ruler and his successors followed him. In fact, similar tradition exists in Mandi as well. Here Raja Suraj Sen (1637-1664) who was without an heir dedicated the state to god Madhav Rao, a form of Vishnu (Man Mohan 1930 : 9). Madhav Rao is the guardian god of the Mandi State. He is honoured by all the gods of the State who assemble in the famous annual Shivratri fair at Mandi, just as to Raghunathji in Dussehra of Kullu.

It is not known where the image was originally installed. Some suggest that it was installed at Manikaran, while others say it was at Naggar. Most likely, it was first installed at Manikaran where a temple dedicated to Raghunathji still exists in addition to the one dedicated to Ramachandra. There is a tradition that the Rajas of Kullu used to go on pilgrimage to Manikaran regularly, stay for some days there and pay homage to Raghunathji (Singh : 1980). Later, it was perhaps transferred to Raghunathpur.

The above incident appears to have occurred in the early phase of Jagat Singh's career, sometime before 1650. Two inscriptions affirming this have been discovered. One of the inscriptions on the *mohar* of Vishnu from Karjan is dated *shastra* year 27 (AD 1650), and the other one belongs to 1656. They record grant of land and the introduction of worship of Vishnu in the form of Rama and Krishna which became state religion during the reign of Jagat Singh who consigned his State to Rama and acted as an agent of the Lord (Shastri 1911 : 269). One inscription also referring to Jagat Singh was found on the door jamb of the temple at Manikaran.

Goetz maintains that in AD 1647-1649, the Mongols, conquering Central Tibet, had also defeated Delegs Namgyal of Ladak, overran Lahul and ousted Jagat Singh from the north of Kullu which he reconquered in 1670 (Goetz 1969 : 115). However, from the two inscriptions of 1650 and 1656, it is observed that Jagat Singh's political activities during this period were concentrated more in north Kullu, as such this proposition is untenable. Jagat Singh at this time, around 1670 married a Chamba princess and perhaps received eastern Lahul as dowry.

Another notable achievement of Jagat Singh was the conquest of Lag and shifting of his capital from Naggar to Sultanpur, indicating expansion of his territory encompassing Lag on the right bank of the Beas. Although no separate account is available, Lag appears to have once constituted a distinct and quite a strong state. In its widest expansion the whole area from Fojjal stream to Bajaura, on the right bank of Beas comprising Kothi Lag Sari and Lag Maharaj, and perhaps also some area now included in Mandi district, formed the territory of the state of Lag.

Kullu records maintain that Madan Sen (AD 1250), Raja of Suket, granted this area to his Brahmin priest. However the *Vamsavali* of Suket, which appears to be more reliable, assigns the incident rather to Parbat Sen (AD 1500-1540), who made this grant.

It is said that Raja Parbat Sen disgraced a *brahmin* priest without enquiry or proof, who was accused of intimacy with a *bandi* or a slave girl, presumably in the royal *zenana*. The *purohit* in consequence committed suicide, but before doing so he insisted about his innocence, and

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pronounced a curse on the Raja. Immediately thereafter, Parbat Sen's health began to deteriorate. He sought to expiate his sin by conferring the *Waziri* of Lag and Sari on the Brahmin's family in *jagir* but to no purpose, and he died soon afterwards. From the *purohit's* family was descended the line of Lag Rajas, who gradually became independent rulers. They then extended their sway over the right bank of the main Beas Valley with portions of Saraj and Banghal until finally overthrown by Jagat Singh of Kullu in about AD 1650. Lag existed as an independent state for about 150 years.

The state undoubtedly was quite strong since at times Mandi and Kullu forces experienced difficulty in defeating Lag separately. Therefore at least twice we observe Kullu and Mandi joining together in fight against Lag.

In about the middle of the seventeenth century, Suraj Sen (at some places Sahib Sen, which appears to be a mistake for Suraj Sen), formed an alliance with Raja Jagat Sigh and they together attacked Jai Chand (or Jog Chand), of Waziri Lag Sari and took possession of a great part of his territory, the portion now known as Saraj Mandi falling to the share of Mandi, while the Kullu Raja obtained the portion now known as Saraj Kullu (Griffin 1870 : 633), comprising the Kothis of Thunag, Gopalpur, Milach, Fatehpur, Shikari, Jalori and Janjha, etc.

Jagat Singh seeing the right opportunity, annexed in the second attempt, Berkot, Garachola, Madanpur, Hathipur, Saragpur, Tarapur, Dengarh, Istpur, Amarpur, Vasarmati, etc. of Chohari region.

The area of Lag which was under Jog Chand was being supervised by Sayyid Mustaffa, working under Sayyad Abrahim, an employee of Dara Shikoh, who was also looking after the grandson of Jog Chand. Sayyad Abrahimn took all the areas back and put under the charge of Sayyid Mustaffa. In Hijri 1067 (AD 1656), he left the place and then Jagat Singh attacked on Dugi Lag. He fought with Sultan Chand at Dhalpur who was killed in the fight. All the area was captured and the grandson of Jog Chand alongwith his relations were imprisoned.

Jog Chand's mother then complained to Dara Shikoh that Raja Jagat Singh had captured all her territory and had also put in prison her relations. He wrote to the Raja to return the kingdom of Jog Chand and his relations, and that he would face the worst in the hands of Jahangir Quli Beg who had been in Kahlur, if the orders were not complied with. This order is dated Hijra 1067 (AD 1656) addressing Jagat Singh as Zamindar of Kullu. But Jagat Singh did not return the land because there was a revolt in Delhi. Aurangzeb had imprisoned Emperor Shahjahan in AD 1659.

While Jagat Singh had annexed the areas of Jog Chand, Mandi had laid claim on Berkot. Both the Raja of Kullu and Mandi, went to Delhi to claim their right and both are stated to have got the order to take over the fort. Since Kullu was able to execute the order in advance it, therefore, captured the fort.

It was around this time, perhaps, that the capital of Kullu was transferred from Naggar to Kullu.

Some official letters or *farmans* issued from the Mughal court of Delhi between AD 1650 and 1658 in the name of Raja Jagat Singh of Kullu furnish valuable information. These were seventeen, as some say, or thirteen in number, four of them in original and other only copies, as H.N. Shastri had examined them (Shastri 1911 : 27)). The originals are lost. Twelve were issued under the seal of Dara Shikoh and one by Aurangzeb in AD 1068 (AD 1658). In the last one, Jagat Singh was asked to join hands with Dhan Chand Kahluria of Bilaspur in order to close the roads against Sulaiman Shikoh, who desired to join his father at Lahore from Garhwal.

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One of the letters dated AD 1656 orders that the two (semi precious) stones sent by the Raja were of poor quality. He desired to return them. In future they should be of good quality. The mines granted to the Raja could be considered as his own.

Another one, dated 1657, complained to the Raja that the sapphire sent by him was of inferior quality. In future he should take care to send sapphires of superior quality only.

The rest, except one, are addressed to Jagat Singh, who is therein called Zamindar, i.e. 'Landlord of Kullu'. Once he is styled as Raja. Customarily the rajas of hill states were always addressed as Zamindar in the terminology of Mughal courts. Hiranand Shastri remarks that 'what we gather from them is that Jagat Singh was held in considerable esteem at the Mughal Court, for Aurangzeb spoke of him as "well established" in his royal ways.' He sent presents of hawks and crystals and deputed his son to the Imperial court at Delhi and recognized Shahjahan as his liege lord who in turn was highly pleased with him and besides granting some crystal mines, extended his protection to him and his people.

During the period Kullu was in close contact with the Mughal court and might have availed the opportunity to bring about some reformation in the administrative and revenue system based on the Mughal pattern. In Chamba, Prithi Singh (1641-1664) introduced firearms. Paper was used in administration and as well as for paintings in the Basohli style; administration was recast with partly Mughal terminology (Goetz 1955 : 115).

Regarding Mandi, Manmohan says : "Tradition has it that Raja Suraj Sen introduced a fixed revenue assessment, partly in cash and partly in kind; and this is easy to believe when we remember that sometime before the middle of the seventeenth century most of it, if not all of the hill chiefs, had acknowledged the suzerainty and supremacy of the Mughals, and it is possible that the principles of land revenue assessment then in vogue in the Imperial territory might in some measure, have been introduced in the states which owed allegiance to the Mughal Emperor" (Man Mohan 1930 : 35).

When the Rana of Banghal was attacked by Raja Suraj Sen of Mandi around AD 1660, he sought the assistance of his brother-in-law, Raja Jagat Singh. The combined forces defeated the Raja of Mandi, and the fortresses of Shahpur, Karanpur and Shamsherpur were captured by the Raja of Kullu who in lieu for his assistance, made his brother-in-law hand over to him Dewal, Sansal and Bir. The boundary between Mandi and Kullu was fixed at Bir Apju.

Suraj Sen in retaliation captured from Kullu Madanpur, Sari and Tarapur but soon he suffered defeat and was chased out of Kullu. The Kullu army ravaged Mandi territory right upto Gumma and Drang and occupying the salt mines yielding large revenue. Suraj Sen was forced to come to terms for peace and had to pay an enormous indemnity in return for which Jagat Singh agreed to restore to Mandi all the places he had conquered including the much prized salt quarries (Man Mohan 1930 : 29).

The above engagements of Suraj Sen with the Rajas of Kullu is attributed to Man Singh instead of Jagat Singh by Griffin (1870 : 633) as well as Hardyal. However, the period of Suraj Sen is 1637-64 and Man Singh lived a bit later (1688-1719).

Within a year of his accession in 1664 Raja Shyam Sen of Mandi attacked Kullu and annexed the fortresses of Dhanjugarh (Manmohan 1930 : 36; Griffin 1870 : 635). In 1667 Kullu had captured the districts of Bagi, Thatch, Nain and Bandhi from Mandi, as a consequence of which Shyam Sen declared war against Kullu. He led in person a large force against the enemy and after capturing Sanaurgarh and Bajaura he halted at Shamshi within a few miles from Kullu.

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A sanguinary battle ensued and the Raja of Kullu finding himself no match for Mandi, withdrew and offered to restore all the captured forts and pay a lakh of rupees as penalty. These terms were accepted by Raja Shyam Sen and he retraced his footsteps to Mandi. On his way back *via* Kandi he was attacked by Kullu soldiers and rupees one lakh were snatched. The Raja himself was saved by a Kullu Officer and handed over safely to his men (Man Mohan 1930 : 40).

Hardyal says that when Raja Shyam Sen was in prison in Delhi, the Raja of Kullu finding opportunity occupied the area of Saraj, viz. Shrigarh, Pirkot, Narayangarh, Janjh, Jalori, Raghopur, Bari, Domari, Madanpur and Bhamri. However no other source mentions Shyam Sen having ever been brought to Delhi in prison.

Once Raja Man Singh Guleria of Guler is stated to have attacked Kullu, as the *Vamsavali* records. Vogel believes that this is not tenable, in fact it was not physically feasible.

Towards the end of his career, Jagat Singh captured Narayangarh, Usrigarh and Himri in the outer Saraj from Suket. Then he came to Sultanpur and on the advice of his *guru* Kishan Dass went to Manikaran where he spent his last days in meditation. It is said that his image is placed in the temple there, but this seems odd as there is no such custom in Kullu.

Thus under Jagat Singh Kullu had acquired the largest territory, a position which continued for some generations.

VIII. HARI SINGH (1672-1672)

Jagat Singh had three sons, Hari Singh, Bidhi Singh and Fakir Singh. Fakir Singh, the youngest one went to Delhi, probably as a hostage for the state in accordance with the practice as was introduced by Akbar. Akbar had initiated, in order to ensure fidelity of the hill Rajas, the policy of retaining as hostages at his court, a prince or a near relative of the ruling Chief from each state. It is said that during Jahangir's reign there were twenty-two young princes from the hill states, in attendance on the emperor.

According to V2, Hari Singh, the eldest of the three, succeeded his father Jagat Singh. He founded the village of Haripur. The public, however, soon became unhappy and dissatisfied with his mal-administration and after hatching a conspiracy, exterminated him. He reigned for a very short period, less than a year. Perhaps this may be the reason why V1 does not include his name in the list of the ruling Rajas and Hutchison and Vogel suggest that he was probably killed in the battle before he was crowned (Hist. II : 462). The two local Kullu documents mentioned earlier also do not mention his name among the ruling Chiefs.

IX. BIDHI SINGH (1672-1683)

Bidhi Singh or Budhi Singh, middle of the three sons of Jagat Singh, succeeded his elder brother Hari Singh (V2) or Jagat Singh (V1). Hardyal places the regnal period of Bidhi Singh between 1663-1672 whereas Hutchison and Vogel put it between 1672-1688. The latter proposition seems to be more reliable.

It was perhaps Bidhi Singh, as Kavi Ganesh notes, that the Raja of Kullu invited Raja Bhim Prakash (Chand) (1665-1692) of Bilaspur in aid against Bushahar, and joint expedition launched in AD 1681 gave success in gaining over part of Kaipu and in conquering the areas of Khekhu, Khekhsu, Dattanagar and Nirmand from Bushahar (Ganesh 1882 : 61-62).

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This is confirmed by both versions of the *Vamsavali*. V2 relates that the Kullu Raja alongwith his forces reached Sarahan in Bushahar and annexed the fort of Kot, Dhaul and Kandi. One of Raja's men, named Bhato, discovered a *mohra* there, which was brought to Kullu. It is said that the said *mohra* was placed in the temple of Jawala, and the above event is inscribed on it.

Two inscriptions relating to his period have been discovered. The first written on the jamb of the doorway of the Siva temple at Hat dating *Sastra* year 49 (= AD 1673) records a grant of land to the temple by Raja Shyam Sen of Mandi, indicating that till 1673 Hat continued to be under the jurisdiction of Mandi. The area was perhaps annexed by Mandi during the time of Raja Jagat Singh. The second is inscribed on a stone slab on the wall of Muralidhar temple, Chahni, partly written in Sanskrit, having been engraved in Vikram *Samvat* 1731 (= AD 1674-75) (Shastri 1911 : 269). It records the name of Raja Bidhi Singh.

In a song from Lahul, it is mentioned that Bidhi Singh drafted Lahulis from the Pattan valley, perhaps for a war (Loppa 1996 : 72-74). The band of youth came from the villages starting from the village of Nalda, which was the boundary between Lahul and Chamba Lahul, till recently, to Tandi. It suggests that this part of the valley was under jurisdiction of Kullu.

In the Tibeto-Mughal triangular war of 1683, Bidhi Singh is believed to have been ally of the Mughal which enabled him to retain his control over Upper Lahul (Petech 1977 : 75).

In 1682 the lamas of Karsha monastery of Zanskar called the troops of Sogpo (Mongol) into the country. Raja Indra (Indrabhoti), brother of Deldan Namgyal, king of Ladak, was encamped at Tharla. He invited the Mon army from *Nyungti* (Kullu) in defence against the Sogpo. Lama bNag-dbang Tshering witnessed the event himself as is noted in his biography.

X. MAN SINGH (1688-1719)

Man Singh in the beginning of his reign annexed the territory of Pandrabis from Bushahar state and founded the forts of Danga and Bogcha and fixed new boundary between the two states.

Prithi Pal, the Raja of Banghal, had two sisters, one was married to the Raja of Mandi and the other to Man Singh, of Kullu. The Raja of Mandi invited Prithi Pal on the pretext of seeking his assistance against Suket, but he was treacherously murdered and attempt was made to annex Banghal to Mandi. Prithi Pal's mother invited Man Singh for help against Mandi to whom she promised the annexation of her territory to Kullu. Man Singh was at the time camping at Gumma, at the border between Bushahar and Saraj. From there he marched immediately and captured the fort of Kamlahi. Soon he took over Karanpur and Shamsherpur and fixed the border at Anju.

Thereafter he marched through Lahul and fixed boundary with Ladak at Lingti. The Chronicles of the Thakurs of Kolong (Lahul) corroborate that Man Singh became the ruler of Lahul (Francke 1926, II : 202). Then he turned towards Spiti and made it a tributary. Both versions of the *Vamsavali* aver this fact. His army plundered a great amount of wealth from Spiti and V2 maintains that the silver obtained from Spiti was utilised in the temple of Manikaran. Nawang Tshering a famed lama from Zanskar has also recorded the incident in his biography. He dates the incident as year of sTag (tiger), which most probably may be equivalent to AD 1698.

Man Singh also made a summary settlement in his kingdom.

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Man Singh made a couple of attempts on Saraj and after crossing the river Satluj took possession of Shangri where he built the fort of Kangal. Thereafter, he annexed the territories of Kotgarh and Kumarsen and built the fort of Shrikot.

In the meantime, Mandi attacked the forts of Garhchola, Madanpur and Tarapur (Waziri Lag Maharaj). On returning from Saraj, Man Singh, freed the above forts from the control of Mandi, and moving further deep into the territory of Mandi occupied the salt mines of Gumma and Darang and raised income by selling salt at the rate of one *paisa* per *kutcha maund*. He even moved further deep into Dangsi. In an agreement of compromise the old boundary was recognised.

Mandi registers an account of a powerful assault by Gur Sen on Man Singh, in fulfillment of the last wishes of his father, Shyam Sen, who was defeated and waylaid by Jagat Singh's army while he was returning to Mandi. "Gur Sen considered it his foremost duty to carry out the wishes of his father, and after consultation with his Sardars he decided to make war on Kullu. He encamped at Chamar Pani, and sent a challenge to Raja Man Singh of Kullu to surrender the fortresses of Bagi Thatch, Bans, Neru and Balendhi-which he had recaptured after the departure of Raja Shyam Sen-or else to come out and fight like a man and not resort to guerrilla warfare. Man Singh scoffed at this challenge and said many unpleasant things about Mandi and its ruler. He defied Gur Sen and advanced on Chamar Pani with a strong force. The Mandi army was dispersed and the hopes of Gur Sen were dashed to the ground. But within a month he again invaded Kullu with a very much stronger and larger force and this time he succeeded. At the battle of Dhalpur-now the name of the street at Kullu-the Raja of Kullu was defeated and captured. He was dispossessed of all the fortresses he had misappropriated, and the town of Kullu itself was sacked. He now begged Gur Sen to spare him and paid rupees two lakhs in cash as expenses of the war. He also presented a dagger to Raja Gur Sen which is still preserved in the state armoury. Bajaura-not a natural boundary-was fixed as the boundary between the two states" (Man Mohan 1930 : 43).

There was another memorable encounter with Mandi. Mian Bir Singh, the Chief Commander in the army of Sidh Sen, was reputed to be the bravest and the most capable general. He retired to his village. Thinking it as the right opportunity, Kullu attacked Mandi and the Raja himself entrenched himself at Baggi Thatch. Sidh Sen tried to dislodge him but failed. He then brought Bir Singh back. Thus Mandi was able to repulse the enemy forces but only after both sides had several hundred killed and wounded (Man Mohan 1930 : 51).

Man Singh then turned towards Saraj again and built a palace at Rathoh. He planted a mango orchard there. He developed intimacy with the Rani of Kumarsen and went to Shrikot and started residing there. This irked the Raja of Kumarsen and he instigated Bushahar against Man Singh. Man Singh was engaged in a battle against Suket and was stationed at Bahramkot. One day as he was coming to Shangri accompanied by a small force, the Bushahar forces stopped him in the forest and killed him.

Nawang Tshering (1657-1730), an famed Lama from Zanskar, visited Sultanpur in AD 1700 and noted in his biography "I stayed for a night on the insistence of the Raja's priest named Hariman who gave delightful treatment". He also visited Manikaran and halted there for a fortnight.

Harcourt observed at Gondhla an inscription in Nagari on a beam in the roof of an apartment in the castle of Gondhla Thakurs, used as a resting room by Man Singh (Harcourt 1870 : 100). It contained the decree of Raja Man Singh of AD 1720, made during the last days of his reign in the course of his pilgrimage to Triloknath. The inscription had become illegible due to smoke and age.

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Postel (1985 : 24,230, ff). has reported the following inscriptions of Man Singh's reign :

(i) Narayan mask in Chanahan, Kothi Kais of AD 1688.

(ii) The Mahadeva mask inscription at Jvani, Kothi Raison of AD 1712.

(iii) The Kapilmuni inscription of Basanna, Kothi Kotkandi.

(iv) One inscription dated 1695.

Man Singh was a great warrior and he expanded the territories of the state to its largest extent, covering an area of about 10,000 square miles. In addition to Kullu proper, it comprised a large portion of Lahul, Banghal and towards south it extended close to Shimla and the town of Mandi.

XI. RAJ SINGH (1719-1731)

Man Singh had three sons from two *ranis*. Raj Singh, Padam Singh and Inder Singh. Inder Singh, the youngest died in his infancy. Raj Singh being the eldest was the legal heir to the throne. Man Singh, however, being more intimate with Padam Singh's mother was in favour of assigning the heirship to Padam Singh. But this was not possible so long as Raj Singh was alive. Therefore, Avadi Ram, Dayari Wazir, was entrusted the job of removing the thorn out of the way. The Wazir, being sceptic about the firmness of the Raja's mind on the issue, disclosed the secret to Raj Singh. Knowing about the conspiracy, he fled away to Kangra where he was received with great honour. The Raja's daughter was married to him and he settled down there and founded a village named Jaisinghpur.

Soon after the death of Man Singh, Raj Singh rushed home and with the assistance of the subjects of the state succeeded in acquiring the throne.

As Kullu was in turmoil, the Thakurs of Kumarsen with the help of Bushahar took over the forts of Salachni, Bagi and Lavakaran. After taking over the reign of the state, Raj Singh immediately annexed these forts and in addition acquired the areas of Thiti and Jagolri and also inflicted some damage on Sarahan. Thereafter he annexed the fort as well as the areas of Raghavpur from Mandi.

About this time towards the end of the seventeenth century, Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Sikh Guru, is stated to have visited Kullu and asked for assistance against the Mughals (Griffin 1870 : 637; Hist. II : 464). The Raja, however, did not respond favourably. Ahluwalia (1988 : 128) doubts the authenticity of this on the ground that the Guru has not mentioned about his visit to Mandi and Kullu in his biography, *Bichittar Natak*. The view of the earlier authors still upholds good, for it is based on several diverse sources.

One copper plate inscription belonging to Raj Singh's period has been discovered but is not dated (Shastri 1911 : 269).

XII. JAI SINGH (1731-1742)

Jai Singh expelled Tedhi Singh, son of his uncle, Padam Singh, since he considered him to be his opponent, because the priest had foretold Tedhi Singh as the future Raja. Tedhi Singh fled away to Kangra to stay there with his maternal uncle.

Jai Singh built a palace named Pratap-pur at village Jia in Kullu. He charged with labour on

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each person of his dominion. Even pregnant women and those having newly born babies were not spared. This made the Raja unpopular among his own subjects and the people became much agitated. Under the leadership of Dyari Wazir, whose family Massy found still powerful even around 1840, who too had been expelled by the Raja, they revolted by throwing down the Raja's escorts into the Parvati river when the Raja had come to see his palace at Pratap-pur.

The Raja made away to Lahore alongwith 500 men, perhaps to seek help from the Governor of the Mughal Emperor.

Taking advantage of the Raja's absence, Shamsher Sen, Raja of Mandi, invaded Kullu and annexed Madhopur, Amargarh, Loyogarh, Sarni, Hastpur and Chohari (Griffin 1870 : 639).

At Lahore, the governor promised to assist the Raja in his objectives. But as Jai Singh was very handsome in person, governor's daughter showed her deep liking for him. The Raja could not have accepted the unexpected offer on the condition of his conversion to another religion. He, therefore, set out on pilgrimage to Ayodhya with some of his men. He sent message to Tedhi Singh to go to Kullu and take over the reign of the state. Jai Singh died at Ramdarbar in Avadh (Ayodhya).

XIII. TEDHI SINGH (1742-1767)

At the outset, Tedhi Singh had to face strong internal strife and also external aggression. The public, however, came in support and installed him as the Raja. He was successful in suppressing the revolt and punished the leaders and their supporters for the uprising, the Thakurs and *Mawanis* (Massy 1890 : 388; Griffin 1870 : 639). One of the memorable tasks executed by Tedhi Singh during the early period of his reign was the construction of the temple of Khokhan, done in pagoda style and dedicated to god Mahadeva, as a *mohra* belonging to the god bears the name of Techh (= Tedhi) Singh dated equivalent to AD 1746.

A document, though bearing no date, executed on the death of a chief of the Gondhla in Lahul, Tchhewang Rabtan, records the name of Raja Trer (= Tedhi) Singh whose palace, the document says, is situated at Sur (Sul)tanpur, which is comparable to Gadan (the paradise of Sukhavati) and the territory of Tinan is under his sway.

In 1749, Tedhi Singh annexed Bir, shortly before the death of Dalel Pal (Massy 1890 : 418).

In 1753, Shamsher Sen of Mandi attacked Bir and put the Kullu forces occupying it to flight. A dispute arose over the village of Sooja. The matter was put to arbitration before Raja Umaid Singh of Chamba, whose daughter was married to Shamsher Singh. The issue was settled amicably and *status quo* was maintained (Man Mohan 1930 : 68).

On the decline of Mughal power and cession of the Punjab to Ahmad Shah Durrani, the latter in AD 1758 appointed Raja Ghamand Chand to the office of Nazim or Governor of the Jalandhar Doab, who then also sought to acquire the supremacy over the entire Kangra group of states. In his design, however, he was restricted by the Sikh inroads into the hills, which began soon after 1760. Ghamand Chand first conquered the states around Kangra. In 1765, he advanced towards Kullu and annexed some areas and made Kullu its tributary (Hist. I : 176; Shastri 1970 : 19). Kullu perhaps continued to be tributary of Kangra nominally till 1806 when Kangra was annexed by the Gorkhas for Massy says Kullu was tributary to Kangra for the Kullu proper, i.e. excluding the Shangri. Kangra also expressed its unhappiness at the time of investiture ceremony of Ajit Singh when Mandi Raja was made the initiator of the

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ceremony whereas it was claimed as the right of the nominee of the Raja of Kangra. This lends some support to the above fact. During this time, mercenaries also caused damage to the religious establishments as Moorcroft observed that at Bajaura there were many images most of which were known to have been damaged during the Ghamand Chand's invasion (Moorcroft 1841, I : 170).

A popular song from Lahul speaks of Raja Tedhi Singh having invited goldsmith Nandi Ram Phunchhog from Lahul to make the parasol of Lord Raghunathji, since he could find no capable goldsmith in Kullu (Tobdan and Dorje 1996 : 16).

Twenty-four *ranis* performed *sati* with him. Tedhi Singh had three sons named Pritam Singh, Charan Singh and Prem Singh.

XIV. PRITAM SINGH (1767-1806)

Pritam Singh was recognised as the Raja on the death of his father. About the year 1781, Pritam Singh attacked and occupied Garh Chhatar and Trilokpur. Mandi appealed to the neighbouring states for help against the common foe, and the forces met those of Kullu at a place called Sehal. After fierce fighting for two days, the Kullu forces retreated, but soon afterwards they again attacked Mandi territory.

The cause of the conflict may be recounted in the words of Man Mohan; "Sometime after the accession of Surma Sen the Raja of Kullu died and his Sartorah Pritam Singh succeeded him. Finding Pritam Singh weak, Suram Sen desired to satisfy his desire for distinction on the field of battle.

"The chronicle grossly exaggerates when it puts down the number of the Mandi army at 20,000 as against 7000 of Kullu, but even with the enormous odds against them the latter dispersed the army of the Mandi Chief without slightest difficulty. Not a shot was fired, not a sword flashed from its scabbard, not a man was killed, yet the Mandi army fled at the mere sight of the enemy" (1930 : 74).

To avert the Kullu menace Wazir Bairagi Ram made frantic efforts and thanks to the help rendered by the rulers of Jaswan, Guler and Datarpur, he eventually succeeded in sending reinforcement to the scene of action. Eventually Kullu had to acknowledge defeat, and had to pay a large indemnity to Mandi and her allies (Man Mohan 1930 : 75).

Around AD 1792, Sansar Chand invaded Mandi and made Isri Sen captive and kept him in prison for 12 years. Chohar was snatched from Mandi, which was with them since the time of Jaya Singh, and handed over to Kullu, but soon he took it back. V2 records that Sansar Chand reached Bajaura even though Kullu had returned all the forts it had captured from Mandi, and levied tribute of rupees 20,000. A reference perhaps to this incident is found in a tradition in Lahul stating that a fight occurred at Bajaura where men from Lahul fought under the banner of god Gepang and the Raja of Kullu was victorious in the war against Mandi (Tobdan & Dorje 1996 : 17).

Sansar Chand is said to have levied regular tribute from all the surrounding hill states, perhaps including Kullu, for V2 documents that Kullu paid Kangra tribute in the form of yak tail, musk and horses.

The authors of the *History of the Panjab Hill States* give the background of Sansar Chand's rising in the words : "With the acquisition of Kangra Fort, Sansar Chand was left free to prosecute his ambitious designs and henceforth for more than twenty years there was no peace in the hills.

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His grandfather Ghamand Chand, had raised a force of Rohillas, Afghans and Rajputs- drawn from the Delhi and Afghan armies-to whom he gave liberal allowances and Tegh Chand, his father, continued the same policy. At his accession, Sansar Chand thus had a force of trained men with which it was hopeless for any of the hill chiefs to cope. They were all, therefore, forced to submit to his control, pay tribute, and send contingencies for his military expeditions." Further, about Kullu they remark : "Kullu does not seem to have been interfered with by Sansar Chand to the same extent as some of the other state. Pritam Singh had long reign, and was still in power as late as 1801, when he addressed a letter to Raja Jit Singh of Chamba promising assistance in a united attack upon Kangra. By that time Sansar Chand's high-handed treatment of the hill Chiefs had aroused bitter resentment against him, but mistrust of one another prevented combined action" (Hist. II : 468).

Lahul continued to be under the sway of Kullu since a reference is made in the Chronicle of Tinan acknowledging the suzerainty of king Pritam Singh of Kullu whose capital, it says, is situated at Sultanpur (Francke 1926, II : 218).

In 1804 Pritam Singh made a grant of *purohit*-ship (priesthood) to Pandit Bhagat Singh of Dhalpur which he is stated to have inherited since the time of Sidh Singh. Pahari art flourished at its zenith during his time, the brightest example of which is the Kullu Devi mural in which Raja Pritam Singh is shown as paying homage to Tripurasundari. A temple of Tripursundari, which may perhaps be assigned to this time, exists in Pagoda style at Naggar and a copper plate inscription dating *samvat* 56 (AD 1780) was also discovered in the same locality.

It is said that in 1781 Raja Pritam Singh discovered a silver mine in village Batadhi near Jari in Kothi Harkandi. The Raja gave *muafi* to the village god. He is also stated to have made some additions to the castle at Sultanpur.

Evidence is available about the conspiracy made against Kullu by the neighbouring states from time to time, "In the Chamba archives Raja Shamsher Sen of Mandi; his son, Mian Surma Sen, Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra and Raja Raj Singh of Chamba to attack Makarsa (Kullu) and seize Banghal and divide it equally among them each taking the portion nearest to his own territory. The document is dated 1 *Magh*, V. 1834 = AD 1778.

"From this it would appear that Banghal was then in the hands of Kullu and the three states-Mandi, Kangra and Chamba agreed to seize it.

"A letter exists from Pritam Singh of Kullu to Raj Singh of Chamba complaining that Banghal had been occupied and asking for its restoration. The Wazir of Kullu, named Bhagh Chand had also been captured and his release was asked. This request was not complied with, for another letter, dated 1878, states that two men-Tulsi Ram and Jassi Ram-had become security for the payment of rupees 15000 for Bhag Chand's liberty. Presumably he was then set at liberty.

"At a latter date another agreement was entered into against Kullu, between Chamba, Mandi and Kahlur (Bilaspur) to invade and conquer Makarsa (Kullu), and divide the country equally among them. It is dated AD 1786. Nothing seems to have come of this agreement. It was the year in which Sansar Chand acquired possession of Kangra Fort and assumed the supremacy over the Hill States, and the hill chiefs were probably too much concerned for their own territories to think of making inroads on one another" (His. II : 466-67).

Pritam Singh is stated to have opened a mint (V2) issuing coins in the name of Emperor Aurangzeb containing a couplet in Persian. As a mark of honour the weight of the rupee coin was kept lower than that of Delhi. Isru was the mint master, who lived at Chahni (near Banjar). Two *anna* and four *anna* coins were also issued. This is perhaps a unique information in the history of Kullu. One possibility which supports this fact is the discovery of the silver mine.

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We have no other reference corroborating this fact. Not even V1 has any such reference. Allegiance to Aurangzeb too appears to be rather odd since his reign had already ended in 1707, much before Pritam Singh's reign started.

XV. VIKRAMAJIT SINGH (1806-1810)

Vikramajit Singh was known by several other *aliases* : Vikrma Singh, Vikraman Singh and Vir Vikrmajit Singh. Vikrmajit Singh's time was so critical in the history of Kullu that apart from the traditional rivals of the neighbouring states, Kullu was confronted with the giant powers like the Gorkhas, the Sikhs and ultimately the British.

In the early period of his reign, after severe conflict and much bloodshed Mandi snatched the forts of Devgarh, Sari, etc. in Chohari region. But Amargarh remained unharmed under the control of Kullu army. Then Kullu invaded Saraj Mandi and captured the fort of Bagrah which remained under the control of Kullu for three years.

The Gorkhas of Nepal made lightning appearance in the historical scene of Himachal Pradesh in the early years of nineteenth century. They had in reality set out on an ambitious expedition of extending the limits of their kingdom to include Kashmir and, if possible, the plains of Punjab as well.

By the year AD 1803, they had completely subjected the Kumaon and Garhwal regions (Pandey 1937 : 395). Their contact with Himachal began in 1803, starting from Sirmour. Karam Parkash was the Raja of Sirmour during these days. On hearing about a deep conspiracy hatched by the state officials to dethrone him, Karam Prakash alongwith his family, went in the year 1803 to the fort of Kangra situated on the top of the hill in Kyardah Dun and began to reside there. In the absence of the Raja, the disloyal courtiers plundered the state treasury and then besieged the Kangra fort in order to arrest or assassinate Raja Karam Prakash. The Raja fled under cover of darkness with Rani-Guler to Kalsi.

The rebels in Nahan installed Kanwar Rattan Singh on the throne with the title of Rattan Prakash. He was, however, unable to subdue the insurgence.

Meanwhile Karam Prakash met Amar Singh Thapa, a senior Military Officer of Nepal at Dehra Dun who was staying there since 1799, and sought his assistance in suppressing the rebels. The Gorkhas were eagerly watching for a suitable opportunity to step into this part of the country and acceded to his request promptly. They invaded Sirmour, expelled Rattan Prakash and established their own government leaving Karam Prakash in no better situation than before. Amar Singh Thapa thereafter proceeded to Handur (Nalagarh) state.

In 1805, Sansar Chand invaded Bilaspur state and annexed a portion of its territories on the right bank of the Satluj. By this time practically all the hill chiefs were tired of the high handedness of Sansar Chand and his wanton attacks on their territories. Man Chand, the Raja of Bilaspur, resolved to bring about the downfall of the Katoch king by calling the Gorkhas of Nepal for aid. So when the invitation of Kahlur Raja reached the Gorkhas, they were too willing since it helped them in their designs. The hill chiefs formed a confederacy, threw aside their allegiance to Sansar Chand and joined the 10,000 men with the strong force of Amar Singh Thapa. They crossed the Satluj in 1805 and defeated Sansar Chand's forces in 1806 at Mahal Mori. Consequently, the portion of the state on the right bank of the Satluj annexed by Sansar Chand was restored to Kahlur and the Gorkhas laid siege to Kangra fort. Raja Isri Sen of Mandi was also set free by the Gorkhas from the jails of Kangra.

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Sansar Chand then sought help of Maharaja Ranjit Singh who in 1809 concluded an agreement with Sansar Chand at Jwalamukhi. Under this treaty, dated 5th *Sravan* 1866 *Samvat*, thereby corresponding to AD 1809, Raja Sansar Chand agreed to give up the Kangra fort and district Sandhata in favour of Ranjit Singh on the condition that the latter drove out the Gorkhas across the Satluj and then Jamuna. In 1809, the Sikh forces advanced into the hills and without much difficulty the Gorkhas were driven across the Satluj in 1810. Not only Kangra but all the hill states now found themselves under more powerful rule of the Sikhs.

Kazi Amar Singh Thapa, the Gorkha leader then established himself at Arki, in the small state of Baghal, the Chief of which he had driven into exile (Farooq 1942 : 43). "The Gorkhas who had suffered defeat at the hands of the Sikhs at the battle of Kangra commenced to ravage the states and hills surrounding Simla and by 1808 the invaders had conquered the fortified parts between the Jumna and Satluj and from their capital at Arki began their ruthless rule over their neighbouring hill states" (Buck 1904 : 2). In 1811 they moved to Rampur Bushahar and attacked Bushahar state. They ransacked and looted the capital and destroyed the state archives. In 1810 Raja Ugar Sen had died and Mohinder Singh was an infant of 18 months old. The affairs of the state were being looked after by the Queen Mother. A few months after the death of the Raja in 1811, the Napalese troops took possession of his state except Kinnaur (Bajpai 1991, Appendix : 179). The queen mother and the infant child alongwith the Wazirs, then fled towards Kamru in Kinnaur. The Nepalese troops followed them up as far as Wangtu. The wooden bridge was broken by the Kinnauri forces and the Gorkhas had to retreat.

In the *Gazetteer of Shimla* (1911 : 7) and that of Kinnaur (1975 : 60) it is recorded that "from 1803 to 1815 most part of Bushahr was held by Gorkhas." The statement does not agree with the sequence of events discussed above.

By the year 1814, the Gorkha conquests between the Satluj and the Jamuna had included Sirmour, Hindur, Kahlur, a large portion of Bushahar, the Thakurais dependent on Sirmour, besides the twelve other smaller Thakurais (Keonthal, Mehlog, Shogi, Bhagal, Bhogal, Kothar, Kunihar, Dhami, Jubbal, Balsan, Mongal and Kumarsain).

The Bushahar prince with his mother remained in Kinnaur; however they had to pay 12,000 rupees annually as tribute to the Gorkhas for being allowed to remain in peace until the advance of the British troops in 1815, when they finally returned to the capital in Bushahar state.

Shangri, a territory of Kullu on the left bank of the Satluj came under the Gorkhas at the same time in 1811 and Kullu had to pay tribute to the Gorkhas for Shangri until the Gorkhas were defeated by the British in 1815. The Gorkhas perhaps could not cross the Satluj into the territory of Kullu because it was then under the Sikh rule since the Kangra debacle.

In 1815, David Ochterlony, Agent to the Governor General, marched into the hills via Ropar and captured Nalagarh and Taragarh on November 5 and 8 respectively. After a long and desperate struggle, the strongest fort of the enemy was taken by assault on 11 of February 1815. On 15 April, Ochterlony defeated Amar Singh and compelled him to sign a convention on 15 May, 1915 by which he agreed to withdraw the Satluj and the Jamuna. The Treaty of Sangouli, which finally confirmed the above was signed on 2nd December, 1815.

In this war, the hill *rajas* including that of Kullu assisted the British forces. Kullu sent a strong contingent of 5,000 men led by Wazir Moti Ram and Jhagru.

The British government had promised and it was agreed that in the event of success of operations and with the country falling into British hands, the hill *rajas* will be restored their original power and possession and guarantee full protection to the hill *rajas*, who had been

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expelled by the Gorkhas, against the future aggression, provided they fully cooperated in the British operations. Accordingly Kullu sent its forces to assist in the war against the Gorkhas.

"The Raja of Kulu was among the other chiefs of the hills, invited to cooperate with our troops on condition of having his ancient possession restored to him. Acting under this invitation, the Kulu troops crossed the Sutlej, and took possession of the Kotguru district occupying the strong forts of Whontu, Siljan and Baji situated therein.

"Some difficulty, however, was encountered in causing the Kulu Raja to evacuate the forts and district, which he considered he had a right to retain under the guarantee.

"A small force was moved up from Subathu to compel him to evacuate the district, which he did on its arrival in the neighbourhood" (*Shimla Gazetteers* : 1888-89 : 26).

Kumarsen was perhaps tributary to Kullu till this time and although other areas had to be vacated, Shangri was allowed to be under the administration of Kullu. Hardyal writes that after the war was over, the Raja of Kumarsen reached Rajgarh and accepted the supremacy of British Government and stopped payment of tribute to Kullu. The British Government also ordered Vikrama Singh that he will control only the fort of Kangal and the Thakurains of Shangri and Indrivi on the other side of the Satluj. He helplessly did as directed and recalled his forces from the other side of the Satluj. The British granted him *sanad* and authority to retain Shangri area.

Man Singh had conquered Shangri and Kotgarh in about 1710, and it was thereafter taken over by Bushahar after the death of the Raja in 1719. The Simla Gazetteers, however, give a different version about the accession of Shangri to Kullu. "Kotguru, its administration was attended with difficulty, as also its defence, in those lawless times, from the attacks of the Kumarsain and Bushair on either side of it, and from inroads of the inhabitants of Kulu from the opposite side of the river. With the view of relieving himself from the difficulties of direct administration of the district, and also with that on conciliating the then powerful Kulu state, the Rana of Kotkhai made over Kotguru to the Raja of Kulu to administer it for him on certain terms, he however retaining his original territorial rights in the district. Thus Kotguru remained for ten years under Kulu." (*Simla Gazetteer* : 1888-89 : 24-25). The narrative given in the Gazetteer above is in disagreement with other sources which show that Shangri was won in the battle by Man Singh, perhaps from Bushahar. Captain Kennedy's Report of 1824 also records that Shangri alongwith Kumarsain, Sari and Kotgarh were wrested by Bushahar in *Samvat* 1761 (AD 1703) (Bajpai 1991, Appendix : 179; Forbes 1911 : 158-159). Thereafter, the territory passed on to Kullu.

It is not known, after the loss of Shangri on the death of Man Singh, when it was acquired by Kullu again. The Simla Gazetteer of 1888-89 maintains that the territory remained under Bushahar till the Gorkha invasion of Bushahar in 1810. But this does not appear to be the correct position.

In 1815, after the Gorkhas were defeated, *sanad* for Shangri was granted by the British Government to the Kullu Raja, but effectively remained under the British government. In 1841, on the death of Raja Ajit Singh, his uncle Jagat Singh or Jhagar Singh was appointed Thakur of Shangri and Shangri was separated from Kullu and incorporated with the Simla Hill States. Jhagar Singh died in 1876 and was succeeded by his son Hira Singh. He was conferred the title of Rai in 1887 as a hereditary distinction. He exercised administrative powers within the limits of his state subject to the control of the Superintendent of Simla Hill States. No tribute was levied from him as the annual income was only 1000 rupees.

Kullu had first contact with the Sikh power in 1810. On the retreat of the Gorkhas in 1810 and occupation of the fort of Kangra by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who had become the master of

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all the hill states, Sardar Desa Singh Majittha was appointed Nazim or Superintendent of the Hill States. An official of the Khalsa was sent to ask for tribute from Kullu also and he returned to Lahore with a sum of rupees 40,000. Mandi perhaps assisted the official in the operation (Moorcroft 1841, I : 173-174).

Three years later, when a demand was made again, Dewan Mokam Chand arrived promptly with a following to enforce it. The sum demanded this time was rupees fifty thousand. The Raja pleaded that it was beyond his means, but the Sikhs insisted and took possession of his palace at Sultanpur, forcing him to flee for safety up the mountains to Bhekhli village. They ransacked the capital and plundered the treasury. The Raja then raised the money and forced the Sikhs to leave, but the amount paid was much larger.

"The total sum is said to have been three lakhs of rupees, of which one lakh was given as bribe to Mohkam Chand" (Massy 1890 : 389; Hist. II : 469).

In the war of 1815 against the Gorkhas, Kullu cooperated with the British for which they received reward of rupees 5,000 from the British and the Governor General granted *sanad* for Shangri to the Raja. The Sikhs fined Kullu for accepting the remuneration and for interfering in the matter (Moorcroft 1841, I : 180).

At this time, Mandi not only got the amount of tribute reduced to half from rupees one lakh, but also "the districts annexed by Sansar Chand and given away by him to Suket and Kulu were restored to Mandi" (Manmohan 1930 : 85).

Perhaps it was in the last years of the reign of Vikrmajit Singh or most probably the first year of Ajit Singh i.e. during 1816-17, that Shah Shuja A1, ex-Amir of Kabul, passed through Kullu. After his flight from Lahore in 1815, he had found asylum in Kashtwar for two years, and on Raja Ranjit Singh hearing of his whereabouts, and demanding nis surrender, he fled over the ranges of Zanskar, Lahul, Rohtang Pass and into Kullu. The Kullu Raja is stated to have gone upto Raison to receive the Shah. He was presented three hundred *asharfis* and was treated with great honour. At last he went through Plach and Jalori Pass to Shimla on his way to Ludhiana. The British government had recommended the Kullu Wazir to facilitate the Shah's retreat to Ludhiana. Ranjit Singh, however, on hearing that Shah Shuja had been allowed to escape, imposed fine of eighty thousand rupees on Kullu which had to be paid. It is also said, on the other hand, that Shah Shuja, in his diary, noted that 'Kulu people treated him very inhospitably'.

An inscription acknowledging Vikramajit Singh's suzerainty, from Lahul states that his palace is situated at Sultanpur (Tobdan and Dorje 1996 : 27).

XVI. AJIT SINGH (1816-1841) AND THE END OF THE RAJ

Ajit Singh was the last independent Raja in the long line of rulers of the kingdom of Kullu. Son of Vikrmajit Singh, he was born on 19 December, 1810, as per Hardyal. In the absence of direct heir he was acknowledged as the Raja and was installed as the ruler in 1816 on the demise of Vikrmajit Singh. At the time of his accession to the throne, Ajit Singh was only of six years old. The affairs of the Raj was, therefore, administered by Wazir Sobha Ram whom Moorcroft describes as a plain and intelligent man. The ceremoney of investiture was performed by Raja Isri Sen of Mandi, which right was exercised earlier by the Raja of Kangra. Sansar Chand as lord paramount, even though his suzerainty had passed away, claimed the right and was annoyed to learn that the investiture ceremony was being performed by someone else. He therefore incited Kishan Singh, the Raja's uncle, to question the succession. His claim was supported by the Ranis, perhaps

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because one of them named Katochi was possibly related to the family of the rulers of Kangra. But the people disapproved of him and Kishan Singh fled away to Kangra.

In the year 1816, the Lahore government sent Jamadar Khushal Singh to Mandi to collect the tribute. The Raja, accompanied by a large force, fled to Kullu with the hope to oppose the Sikhs with the combined strong force of 80,000 troops of Kullu. But the Raja's plan failed and he returned to Mandi (Griffin 1870 : 640).

Kishan Singh with the assistance of Katoch Raja, attacked on Kullu around the year 1820 when Ajit Singh was only ten years old. Ajit Singh was defeated and fled to Mandi, and sought assistance from the Raja of Mandi. In lieu thereof, he agreed to cede with the fort of Amargarh, one of the strongest of Kullu forts.

In the second encounter, the combined forces of Kullu and Mandi defeated Kishan Singh, who was overpowered and made prisoner. The Katoch men were stripped naked and left to find their way home over the mountains in that condition. Mandi took possession of Amargarh, in accordance with the agreement. Vogel, however, says, "As reward for his services the Mandi Raja claimed the restoration of two forts and the *ilaqa* of Chuhar, which had been in the possession of Kullu for some time" (Hist. II : 469).

Soon afterwards Kishan Singh died and a boy was put forward by his supporters as his posthumous son.

At this time Kullu was facing acute financial crisis as a result of which it was in the look out for new sources of income. During his winter stay at Leh in Ladak in 1821, Moorcroft received a case for decision arising out of dispute between Ladak and Kullu. Moorcroft describes the history of the case in the following words : "Some traders of Kulu had been detected in an illicit trade in shawl wool on the frontier, and their goods had been seized; they had complained to the Wazir (of Kulu), and he had retaliated by sending an armed party into Ladak, which had carried off a large number of horses and other cattle and violated the sanctity of the temple of mutilating the image." He further remarks on the incident; "The object of the Kulu Vazir, whatever might be pretended was, no doubt, to raise means for paying the exactions of Ranjit Singh. The immediate consequence of this was the interruption of trade" (Moorcroft & Trebeck 1841 , I : 456-457).

With similar objective in mind, Spiti was invaded. This happened perhaps in 1822, as we gather from the description of Trebeck, who was in Spiti in 1822. He reports about the incident "About six years ago (i.e. 1816) when Khaga Rabgi was the governor of the district, attempts were made by the Gadhes, or shepherds of Chamba, Kulu, and its neighbourhood to export shawl wool to the southern hills by way of the Parang Pass. As this was a contraband trade, an order was received from Leh to have it seized." The order was executed but, "none of the animals were injured, nor was any violence offered to the shepherds ..... Indeed the occurrence seems to have remained unnoticed for more than four years..." But somewhat more than a year since Moorcroft and Trebeck reached Leh (September, 1820), "a large peasantry headed by a near connection of everything which was worth carrying away and had not been concealed. They destroyed several houses by lighting fires in the rooms, the Gonpa of Kih was much injured. The property taken off consisted chiefly of yaks, horses and other livestock" (Moorcroft 1841, II : 64). The event is corroborated by Hardyal and the Chronicles of Ladak too. Indeed Spiti requested Ladak for aid in defending and opposing the enemy, but Ladak refused to take heed.

Similar attempt was made on Zanskar, most likely at about the same time. This time Kullu was assisted by Lahul. "They robbed ponies and yaks and whatever property there was and again returned home" (Francke 1926, II : 125).

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After these incidents were over, we hear nothing about Kullu till 1839. Vogel and Hutchison remark : "For nearly twenty years after Mr. Moorcrfot's visit, things seem to have moved quietly in Kulu, the yearly tribute was duly paid, and there was no excuse for invading the state (by the Sikhs)" (Hist. II : 470). A slight indication of the situation is available from the account of Cunnigham who visited Kulu in 1839. He reports that Kullu paid annual tribute of 70,000 rupees out of its total income of 1,20,000 rupees (Cunningham 1841 : 3). For sometime after occupation of the kingdom the yearly tribute paid to the Sikh government was 50,000 rupees per annum. The increase was made sometime in the twenties.

Man Mohan relates an incident pertaining to this period of quietitude from the history of Mandi : "Kullu had for sometime past been in the throes of an intensive struggle. Two parties- Sarajis, and Ropel and Joche - were struggling for power; and each had its own nominee for the *gaddi*. Zalim Sen wished to take advantage of the domestic trouble of Kulu, but by himself he could accomplish nothing. He therefore entered into a compact with Sardar Lehna Singh promising the Lahore Darbar a sum of rupees 70,000 and a substantial sum as a bribe to the Sardar himself, if the latter helped Zalim Sen in taking possession of the Kulu territory between Thara and Raghupur Fort. With the help of the Sikhs Zalim Sen succeeded in gaining his object for a time" (Manmohan 1930 : 96-97). Zalim Sen ruled between 1826 and 1839, the incident might therefore, have taken place sometime in the year 1830. We cannot however, be sure, but this could have been the possible reason for increasing the amount of regular levy on Kullu from fifty thousand to seventy thousand rupees per annum.

In 1839, a Sikh force was sent against Mandi under the leadership of General Ventura. It met with only slight resistance, and the Raja was made prisoner and sent to Amritsar. Pretext was found again that Kullu had shown a disposition to help Mandi, and therefore a force under Sindhanwala Sardar was again sent up the Beas. There was no resistance and in order to save his palace and capital Sultanpur the Raja allowed himself to be made prisoner.

In fact, the hill states of Suket, Mandi and Kullu had virtually been conquered already, though not brought under direct Sikh administration. The present action of acquiring the control of these states was only a part of a larger plan for the acquisition of Ladak and further beyond, portions of Tibet, China. Before such an expedition was launched, it was thought expedient to have control of the strong forts in their own hands which might cause trouble if left behind the Sikh forces in the control of the *rajas*. The results of the long plan are well known, but Kullu could not be saved of the ordeal.

As the quickest means of reducing the hill forts of Saraj, the prisoner Raja Ajit Singh was made to march with the army and personally order the surrender of forts as desired. During this operation, the Raja was treated with great indignity and the villagers took it as an affront. They were able to save the life of the Raja, the lead being taken by Kapuru, Wazir of Saraj. The story of escape of the Raja and of the operation is narrated in detail in a number of works.

Raja Ajit Singh thereafter retired to Shangri across the Satluj. He knew that he would be safe from the revenge of the Sikhs who were sure to take on the Sarajis, for the Satluj was the boundary line between the Sikh and British governments and the Raja held *sanad* for Shangri from the British.

At the news of this victory, which occurred in the spring of 1840, some of the Kulu people gathered on the hills around Sultanpur and made an attempt to rescue the two *ranis* who were detained in the palace but the Sikhs easily repulsed them.

A Sikh force marched to Saraj shortly afterwards and found the country completely deserted, every soul had gone into inaccessible places in the forests high up the mountain sides. After

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burning and plundering some villages they retired and handed over the country to Raja Balbir Sen of Mandi at an annual rental of rupees 32,000 (Massy 1890 : 392). Balbir Sen took the earliest opportunity to complete the subjugation with the help of the Sikh soldiers under Sardar Lehna Singh. They attacked Kullu and without much difficulty conquered and Balbir Sen put the Mandi officers in charge of the district (Manmohan 1930 : 110). His wazir brought about some changes in the administration of revenue system. He gave up the old method of assessment, and converted it into cash only (Bachitter Singh : 18). In the old system the revenue was collected in the form of cash, grains, and *begar* (free service).

In Kullu the Sikhs retained a force and a *Kardar* was appointed to manage the revenue. In the autumn of 1841 the two *ranis* escaped from prison in the palace by a passage which they had secretly dug under the walls and fled up the mountains. They were on their way to join the Raja at Shangri. The Raja, however, had already expired after having survived for a few months. Therefore on hearing the news of his death they returned to the palace at Sultanpur and began intrigues, as some sources relate, with regard to the choice of a successor.

When Ajit Singh died at Shangri, Erskine, the Superintendent of the Simla Hill States, reported in favour of Ranbir Singh, infant son of Mian Jhagar Singh. Jhagar Singh was overruled. The Ranis sent for Jhagar Singh's child to Sultanpur, and the Sikh officials there admitted his claim and wished to send him to Lahore to receive the investiture. But on the way at Mandi he fell ill and died. Therefore the rule of Shangri continued with Jhagar Singh.

Thakar Singh, first cousin of Ajit Singh was then made Raja and was given Waziri Rupi in *jagir*. The whole country was offered to him on a heavy tribute but he is said to have refused to own the responsibility (Hist. II : 472-73).

It appears that Ajit Singh had agreed to abdicate the Kullu throne in favour of the Sikhs in 1839 and he was allowed to retain the area of Waziri Parol. Hutchison and Vogel write that, "He was then told that he would be set at liberty if he gave up the country, on a promise that he would receive Waziri Parol in *jagir*, and this he agreed" (Hist. II : 470). When Thakar Singh was installed in 1841 as Raja of Kullu by Maharaja Sher Singh, he too was offered the Waziri Parol in *jagir*. However, his Wazirs advised him to choose instead Waziri Rupi because most of the land grants of these Wazirs lay in this Waziri and they thought that if it remained under Sikh administration, they might deprive them of their rights.

The same status was maintained after the British takeover of the country. Shangri ultimately remained in possession of Jagar Singh.

In 1846, the First Sikh War was fought. But sometime before that, "Mr Erskine entered into secret communication with the Raja (of Kulu) for the purpose of securing his neutrality whenever a rising in Kulu should take place, for the management of Saraj, a Kulu Province, had been entrusted to him by the Darbar and he was also directed to expel if possible, the Sikh garrison from fort" (Griffin 1870 : 647).

In 1846, after the end of the Sikh War, Irskine, Superintendent of the Hill States, submitted a report to the Governor General, on the existing position of the forts, and the future arrangements thereof, with a suggestion regarding the selection of the successor to the ruler of the state (Mahashys : 1996 : 88-92, 99).

There were five important forts : Shrigarh, Dowl and Bonga on the borders with Bushahar, and Berkot and Bajaura with Mandi. He suggested to retain the Shrigarh and Berkot forts and to dismantle the rest of the three. There were about 1000 soldiers in these forts who were mercenaries from the Rajput states of Kangra, Bilaspur, Guler and Bubhouree (?). They were allowed to return to their home. However he suggested that maintaining a force of 500 men would be essential.

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As the War was over, the Trans-Satluj Territory, namely the Jallandhar Doab, and the hill country between the Satluj and Ravi was ceded to the British government. Kullu alongwith Lahul and Spiti became a Tehsil of the new district of Kangra. Thakar Singh was confirmed in his title of Raja and allowed to exercise sovereign powers within his *jagir* of Rupi. Jagar Singh of Shangri claimed the estate, but was disallowed.

On Thakar Singh's death in 1852, the issue was raised whether the whole *jagir* should not be resumed by the government on the plea that the mother of his only son Gyan Singh was not the wife of the Raja. It was then decided to give Gyan Singh the title of Rai instead of Raja and only half the *jagir*, with no political powers. But three years later on reconsideration of his claim, the other half was restored to him. The government however, did not give him any political or executive powers and it also took over the right to fell timber in the entire *jagir*.

Rai Gyan Singh died in 1870 and succession to the *jagir* devolved on his son Rai Dalip Singh. He was a minor at the time of his father's death, and the estate, which was encumbered, was managed greatly improved and free from debt under the Court of Wards, until 1883, when it was made over to Dalip Singh. The *jagir*, which comprised the villages of Kotkandi, Chong, Harkandi, Kanawar, Bahlon, and Shainshar was brought under the settlement in 1876-77 and the assessment fixed at rupees ten thousand. The *jagirdars'* right were declared to be those of a superior proprietor. The valuable timber forests situated within the limits of the *jagir* were reserved as the exclusive property of the government. The *jagir* also contained large number of subordinate rent free tanures held under the grantee, who estimate their yield at rupees two thousand per annum. Rai Dalip Singh was fairly well educated. He exercised the powers of a Magistrate and a *Munsif* in small cases within the limits of his *jagir*.

Rai Dalip Singh was honoured as the seventh Viceregal Darbari of the Kangra district and acted as a member of the Kangra District Board and of the Kullu Local Board. He was allied by marriage with the Nadaun and Mandi Rajas. He had no sons. His cousin Hira Singh was *jagirdar* of Shangri in the Shimla district. He died at the young age of 30 in 1892.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX I

TRANSTATION OF MAJMUA TAWARIKH RIYASTE KOHISTAN-PANJAB, PART III, KULLU, 1885

By Sardar Hardyal Singh

PART I
GEOGRAPHY AND SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY

Section 1 : In the beginning this country was uninhabited. Then came some wild men and settled down here. They lived like animals. Three thousand years have elapsed since Paras Ram came from Punjab and established five villages, namely; Kaw, Nagar, Marhatta and Nirmand on the banks of the Satluj, and another five villages, namely Dharmot, Jagatsukh, Tipri, Chansari and Trambli, on the banks of the Beas. Brahmins who had come from Kashmir, Banaras, etc. were the first to settle in these villages and even now they constitute the majority among the inhabitants.

Section 2 : Sometime after when the war between the Kauravas and Pandavas took place in the plains of Kurukshetra, which is well known as the *Mahabharata*, many *rishis* and *munis* (sages), who were meditating on the banks of the Ganga proceeded to these hills, finding here solitude and peace, and engrossed again themselves in meditation. But the inhabitants of this area whose minds were filled with fear and ignorance, did not allow this place to be inhabited, and inflicted torture and atrocities on the new settlers. They also meted out the same treatment to these sages. The sages, however, continued their meditation without bothering about such disturbances.

Finally times changed. The Pandavas, the rulers of Delhi, after victory in the war, ascended the throne of Indra (Indraprastha) and ruled with great pomp and show. However, they decided to abdicate the throne, go to the forests in the Himalayas, and spend their time in meditation. Here, however, the inhabitants resented their presence. The Pandavas annihilated them. Thus peace was restored. Then many people came and settled here. After sometime, they disappeared in the Himalayas and many places became famous after them, where temples and their images were established, like Vashistha Rishi, Kalath–muni, Vyas Rishi, Kapilmuni, etc.

Ancient Name of Kullu-Makarsa and its Origin

Section 3 : What was the name of this area, prior to the advent of the Pandavas, is not known. But after that it was called Makarsa and the reason is as follows : the Pandavas were accompanied

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by Vidura, of their own clan, who married a woman from here from whom he had two sons : one named Makrah and the other Bhot. He indeed received this name after he (Bhot) married a woman named Surangi from Bhotant. Her former name, however, cannot be known. One day she (Surangi) cooked meat of wild cow and ate it herself and also served it to her husband. At that time Makrah was away from home. When he returned home, he did not take the meat, because his *guru*, Rishi Vyas, had cautioned him beforehand. Makrah not only refused to taste the meat, but also considering his brother and sister-in-law as impure and outcaste, left to live in another village. Luckily, he was crowned as a ruler there. This village became famous after him as Makarhar and the area as Makarsa. For this reason, the priests of temples (gods) still speak (in their pronouncements) Makarsa (for Kullu).

After an epoch had elapsed, Kullu transformed into a kingdom when it was designated as Kulantapitha whose corrupt form is Kullu (or Kulu).

Kothi and Waziri

Section 4 : In the ancient times, when this area was under the rule of the Thakurs, there was no arrangement of Tehsil, etc. The Thakurs had sway over one or two or four villages. They lived in the village and reaped its harvests. Later on when the Rajas became supreme and as they went on adding territories, *kothis* were established, where the revenue (in grains) collected from the area was stored. A *kothi* was at places named after the main village and at others by the name of the fort. During the period of Jagat Singh when revenue was increased, some *wazirs* were given the charge of *kothis*. This is how the *kothis* came to be named. During Raja Jagat Singh's time there were seven kothis or Waziri : 1. Waziri Parol, 2. Rupi, 3. Lag Sari, 4. Lag Maharaja, 5. Saraj, 6. Banghal, 7. Lahul. When Pritam Singh conquered the area of Spiti, another Waziri of the same name was added, but it was generally taken to be a part of Lahul.

Ancient Revenue System

Section 5 : During the reign of the Ranas and Thakurs, revenue was not assessed in fixed measures : they collected revenue arbitrarily. The Rajas too followed the same system for quite a long time until Raja Man Singh, who lived 300 years ago, made summary settlement and revenue was fixed on the basis of the measures (of land) of *bhar, jeola, bigha* and *biswa*. Land measuring 20 seers of seed was called *bhar. Jeola* was of six *bhars* and at some places it was of twelve *bhars*. One who owned one *jeola* had to pay revenue for the first half, and the second half was granted free (*muafi*) in lieu of service rendered (to the Raja). *Ropa* (irrigated land) was assessed at the rate of one *Kansi* (equal to 4 *patha*) per unit of 5, 4, 3 an d 2 *bhars* as the collection of revenue was based on the quality of land. During the reign of the Sikhs, one rupee, or little more or less, was levied and on the irrigated land one rupee in cash on a unit of 3 *bhars* was levied. The tax was however, not always the same; it was raised or decreased from time to time. The Kardars possessed full powers and raised or lowered the quantity of tax as they desired. The British government, during the summary settlements brought about some changes in the rates fixed by the Sikhs and when regular settlement was made, revenue was levied according to the classification of land and the same procedure was followed in the revised settlements.

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Ancient History

Section 6 : Makrah, son of Vidur, became Raja of this land, when it was first inhabited. His capital was situated at village Makarahar which is now deserted and its ruins are seen in *kothi* Kotkandi near Hurla village. Bhot, the brother of Makrah, who had defiled his religion by eating beef, ruled in another village, presently situated between Manali and Jagatsukh. Gradually, the descendants of Bhot and Makrah started losing control over their territories and the country was then divided into small principalities under the Thakurs. Each Thakurain was independent and they had no unity among themselves. Ultimately the Raja, taking advantage of the situation subjugated them one by one and brought the entire region under his command.

PART II
HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF KULLU

Raja Bihangmanipal and his Successor Kashap Pal

Section 7 : History of origin of the family of the Rajas of Kullu is available from the narratives of the sovereigns of Mayapuri. It was a capital town in ancient times on the way to Badrinath and is a desolate town now. Bihangmanipal and his seven brothers belonged to the family of these rulers. As some misfortune befell on them, all the eight brothers were separated and went hither and thither. Bihangmanipal alongwith this wife and son, moving on hiding and trying to save themselves came towards the kingdom of Kullu. One day while he was sleeping in a house of a potter, a *Pandit* named Jawala from Kashmir, looking at his face, asked about his identity. He replied that he was only a poor traveller. The Brahmin then disclosed that he appeared to be a prince and that in his estimation he could become ruler of the realm. Bihangmanipal said, "God only knows whether I will get a kingdom or not," and pleaded with the Pandita to keep quiet lest the Thakurs and Ranas on hearing this would kill him. "Nobody will allow me to live even in this destitute condition." The Pandita reiterated that Bihangmanipal would acquire the kingdom of that very place, Jagatsukh. "If every your guess turns out to be true, I will grant all the irrigated land of this area rent free to you", he replied. The Brahmin went away, but Bihangmanipal continued living there, as a servant of the potter, as some say. The stone called *jagatipat* by the people on which he used to sleep lies above the road in the village between Manali and Jagatsukh.

Bihangmani Becomes Raja of Kullu

Section 8 : At that time this area was in chaos. People were weary of the torture and persecution of the Ranas and Thakurs. Piti Thakur was the most cruel of all. He even killed children and then took women's milk with rice. The people of Jagatsukh, the most disgruntled, as they were, counselled among themselves and decided to expel the Piti Thakur and therefore chose a new ruler. The people assembled in the Jhajhoi (or Chachohli) fair, which is celebrated every year in the month of March, chose Bihangmanipal, who possessed royal appearance and manners, as Raja, saying "Jaidea" (god be victorious) and then, attacked Piti Thakur, who was killed in the battle. Bihangmanipal, had no confidence on these people, and he hid himself in the temple of Shori Devi in village Shuru, keeping watch over the situation. The servants of the

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Thakur were in search of him and they wanted to take revenge for the murder of their leader but he managed to escape unhurt. When peace returned, he also came to Jagatsukh and assumed the reign of the principality. On hearing the news, Jawala *Pandit* came all along from Triloknath to congratulate him, and he too fulfilled his promise by bestowing land to the *Pandit*. This grant is still enjoyed by his descendants who are known as Jhajhuto. Then he conquered the area of Manali, killing its Thakur.

Pachh Pal, Bhang Pal and Hin Pal

Section 9 : Bihangmanipal had two sons : Pachh Pal and Narender Pal. The elder son took the reign after the death of his father. Pachh Pal fought with the Rana of Burua in which Narender Pal lost his life. But the Raja then killed the Rana and annexed his territory. Bhang Pal and Hin Pal succeeded him one after the other.

Swarg Pal and Shakti Pal

Section 10 : Swarg Pal followed his father, but no memorable incident is recorded about him. He had two sons Shakti Pal and Jang Pal who were born at the same time but from two separate mothers. Thus upon the death of their father both staked claim to the throne. They had even a fight. Then the subjects assembled and decided that the territory should be divided and handed over to the two princes equally. The priest, however, ruled that the rights of Shakti Pal weighed more because he was born of the first Rani. The ruling was accepted by all and Shakti Pal was made Raja. Mahima Nand was his second name.

Descendants of Shakti Pal

Section 11 : Mahidhar Pal succeeded Shakti Pal. Thereafter Om Pal, Anant Pal and Rajinder Pal reigned one after one. Rajinder Pal was tenth from Bihangmanipal.

Rajinder Pal

Section 12 : At the time of Rajinder Pal's reign, Rana Surat Chand ruled over Kothi Barsai. He had only a daughter named Sarup Sundari who took over the reign of the Thakurai and succeeded her father. Rajinder Pal, in a letter sent to her, demanded tribute. In reply she wrote, "I will pay you tribute, if you win on the battleground." Rajinder Pal smelled in it a sense of pride and arrogance and invaded her territory. The Raja lost eleven of his twelve sons in the war and the last one was still very young. Availing permission from his father he went to make a plea before Sarup Sundari, and handed over the letter from his father, but did not bow to her. Recognising him, as Raja's son, she put him under arrest and then proposed that the Raja could take her territory if the prince agreed to marry her. The prince wrote to his father, who was ready and rose into action immediately. He annexed the territory and solemnised the marriage with great pomp and show. Because the area was conquered after the period of one year, the *kothi* was named as Barsai. Others say that there was a Thakur named Barso, after whom the area came to be known as Barsai.

Section 13 : After *kothi* Barsai, Rajinder Pal raided Naggar and after defeating and killing

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Karam Chand, the Rana, annexed the territory. He liked Naggar and started living there. Since then Naggar continued to be the capital of Kullu.

Successors of Rajinder Pal

Section 14 : Rajinder Pal was followed by Basra Pal, Basudha Pal, Uttam Pal and Dhuja Pal, one after the other. The last Raja, Uttam Pal fought with the Thakur of Rumsu and defeated him. He was succeeded by Chakra Pal and he in turn by Karan Pal and Suraj Pal.

Successors of Suraj Pal

Section 15 : On the death of Suraj Pal came Ouchh Pal or Rachh Pal, but as he had no issue, a dispute arose over his successor. The Ranas and Thakurs of the nearby states on hearing about the feud, were preparing to take advantage of the chaotic situation. However, as the news reached the brothers of Rachh Pal, they unanimously chose Rudra Pal, their eldest, as Raja, and he thereafter suppressed the rebellious Thakurs.

Raja Rudra Pal

Section 16 : Although the Ranas and Thakurs were brought under control, Raja Indrasen of Chamba, who then also ruled over Lahul, invaded Kullu. Rudra Pal was defeated losing his territory to Chamba. He therefore, agreed to pay tribute and got his territory back.

Hamir Pal

Section 17 : Hamir Pal, who followed Rudra Pal, continued paying tribute to Chamba. But his son Prasidh Pal felt the burden unbearable, and after the death of Indrasen, he stopped sending tribute to Chamba. Upon this Chetabsen, son of Indrasen, invited him for deciding the matter in a battle. The two fought on the Rohtang Pass. Parsidh Pal was victorious in the war.

Parsidh Pal and his Successors

Section 18 : Hamir Pal was succeeded by Parsidh Pal, Harichand Pal, Subbat Pal, Som Pal and Sansar Pal, respectively. Bhogpal was the successor of Sansar Pal. He had to fight with his brother who was claiming the throne. Bhog Pal was killed in the feud and his son Bhui Pal sat on the throne. He then killed his uncle, taking the revenge for his father's murder.

Brahm Pal and Ganesh Pal

Section 19 : Brahm Pal had ascended the throne after Bhui Pal. He had no issue by his Rani. Ganesh Pal was born from a concubine. The wazir elected him as successor to the throne after the death of the Raja, after obtaining due permission from Suket, Ladak, Bushahar and Kangra. However, the subjects of the kingdom did not accept him as their Raja.

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Yagya Pal and His Successors

Section 20 : Yagya Pal succeeded Ganesh Pal. He had two sons, Bhumi Pal and Sak Pal. After the death of their father, the two had a fight for the throne. Sak Pal was killed in the conflict and Bhumi Pal sat on the throne. He had a son named Dateshar Pal, who succeeded his father. He had war with the Raja of Chamba and Shri Dateshar Pal was killed in the battle. When his son Amar Pal came to know about this he went to fight with the Raja of Chamba, taking his sons too along with him. Except Mel Pal, all were killed. When he was left alone, he went to the Raja of Bashahar, seeking his aid. The Raja treated him with great honour. Mel Pal died there. At that time his son, Jhadishar Pal was of very tender age. On attaining adolescence, he went to the Raja of Bashahar, seeking his aid, who then sent forces, captured the territory and handed it over to the Raja of Kullu.

Jhadishar Pal and His Successors

Section 21 : After Jhadishar Pal the Rajas were Prakash Pal, Ajnabar Pal, Tapteshar Pal and Punyeshar Pal in succession. Punyeshar Pal, brother of Tapteshar Pal, was the youngest among all the brothers. Tapteshar Pal had no issues and the other brothers were of unstable mind. For this reason Punyeshar Pal was raised to the throne. He was followed by Pram Pal, Nagender Pal and Narad Pal, one after another.

During the reign of Narad Pal, Chamba invaded Kullu and constructed a fort at Majnukot. This conflict lasted for twelve years. At last peace prevailed and both the parties resolved not to fight again. But the people of Kullu could not extenuate the feeling of old animosity. On the pretense of feast, they invited the people of Chamba to Manali village. "There, all kinds of meal are kept ready for you."

In the night the planks on the bridge on the road to Manali were replaced by smaller planks and grass was spread over it. Some people from Kullu stood on the side of Manali apparently to receive the guests. It was a dark night and nothing was visible. When the people of Chamba started walking over the bridge many of them fell down into the river Beas. The noise of the falling men was subdued in the beating of drums as the drummers too fell down. Now the men of Chamba sensed the deceitful plan of the Kullu people. A few of those left behind ran away. All others were drowned in the river.

Successors of Narad Pal and the Attack of Suket

Section 22 : Those who succeeded Narad Pal were, Narottam Pal, Sakha Pal and Bhui Pal who ruled the kingdom one after the other. The Raja of Suket attacked Bhu Pal and after conquering Kullu levied tribute from it[1]. After Bhu Pal, Janrudh Pal continued paying tribute to the Raja of Suket. His son named Hast Pal refused to pay tribute to Suket when he stepped into the shoes of his father. Therefore the Raja of Suket attacked Kullu and Hast Pal died in the war[2]. The Raja of Suket occupied the Kullu territory, giving a small *jagir* to Sur Pal, son of Hast Pal. But Raja Sur Pal sometime thereafter recovered his territory from Suket, though some portion still remained under Suket whose narration is as under : Waziri Rupi, Lag, Saraj and some part of Waziri Parol[3].

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Successors of Sur Pal and Invasion of Chamba

Section 23 : After Sur Pal came Santokh Pal. He seized some villages of Lahul which were under Chamba. He received as tribute some *chamwar* (yak tail), musk and horses. He was succeeded by his son Tegh Pal. At this time Muhammad Khan of Balistan (Baltistan?) attacked Kullu. Tegh Pal fought back, but was killed. Muhammad Khan went away after returning the territory to Kochet Pal and fixing tribute. Kochet Pal paid tribute for sometime but later on he became defaulter and invaded Lahul annexing five villages which were conquered by Santokh Pal in his time. When Chet Pal was busy performing the last rites of his father, the Raja of Chamba, with the aid of the kings of Balistan and Lasa (Lhasa?) invaded the territory of Kullu. Chander Pal was captured and imprisoned at Mongda fort. His family was passing through difficult days. When he was released, he went with the petition to the Emperor of Delhi that the Tibetans had occupied all countries in the hills and intended to advance towards his empire too. On hearing this, the emperor personally lead the force and subdued many kingdoms. While he was returning to Delhi, Chander Pal requested that his territory, which was seized from Chamba and Tibet was handed over to him. In this manner he regained his kingdom.

Successors of Chander Pal and Invasion of Bushahar

Section 24 : Chander Pal was followed by Saras Pal, Sahdev Pal, Mahadev Pal, Tripti Pal, Ben Pal and Hanat Pal. Bashahar attacked on Hanat Pal and occupying his territory levied tribute. Sahi Pal succeeded Hanat Pal, and he in turn was followed by Gambhir Pal. With the aid of Suket he fought against Bushahar and brought under control some of the areas lying on the bank of Satluj and fixed Satluj as boundary between the two states.

Successors of Gambhir Pal and Attack of Kangra

Section 25 : The successors of Gambhir Pal were Nishudan Pal, Narender Pal, Santokh Pal and Nand Pal, who ruled one after the other. Kangra attacked Nand Pal, annexed a part of Kullu which was under the control of Mandi and fixed annual tribute of yak tail, musk and horses and returned the territory. Nand Pal was succeeded by Dharti Pal, and he in turn by Indra Pal. He delayed and defaulted in payment of tribute to Kangra. The Raja of Kangra sent force in order to enforce the levy. However it had to return without any success. Indra Pal was followed by Mahichakar Pal, Budh Pal, Rattanchand Pal and Kharal Pal, generation after generation.

Kharal Pal and Occupation of Lag by Suket

Section 26 : The Raja of Suket[4] attacked Kharal Pal, acquired his territory after winning it and fixed Seunsa village of Manali as boundary. After this the Raja as a token of penitence for some sin supposed to have been committed by him assigned the regions of Lagsari and Lag Maharaj to his priest. Because this kind of grant is called in Sanskrit language as 'Bijlangli', therefore, in short the area is known as 'Lag'.

It is also mentioned that the Raja of Suket appointed the priest as Wazir over the area, but

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later on he declared himself as an independent ruler. Whichever fact is true, it is clear that at that time Lag had become an independent state. Sultanpur was its capital town. Raja Jog Chand was one of his descendants, a description of which will be given later.

Successors of Kharal Pal

Section 27 : Hans Pal, Agast Pal, Madan Pal, Budh Pal and Dhan Pal followed Kharal Pal, one after another. A temple constructed by Urdhan Pal is situated at Jagat Sukh. On the frame of the temple is inscribed 'Maharaja Aurdhan Pal and Sandhya Devi'. It was read with the assistance of the local people but with great difficulty. Kailash Pal was successor of Aurdhan Pal who is also known as Kashyap Pal. He built his palace at Jagat Sukh and still a house exists there. But this Raja lived mostly in Naggar. From Bihangmani Pal to Kashyap Pal the Rajas bore the title of Pal and thereafter of 'Singh'. Therefore these Rajas append the legend 'Singh' alongwith their name.

Raja Sidh Pal or Sidh Singh and the Title of Singh

Section 28 : Raja Sidh Pal Singh was the son of Kashyap Pal. His title was later on changed to Singh because he killed a *'singh"* (lion) without the aid of any weapon, exhibiting great courage and bravery when it was about to pounce upon a cow. This act of his bravery made him so famous that people started calling him as 'Singh'. He made the present of a silver *mohra* (face) to a god which is still available in village Sajla, *kothi* Barsai. His name Sidh Pal is engraved on it. He ruled during the fifteenth century.

Raja Sidh Singh was one of the most famous in his dynasty. As his first and the greatest action in this direction, he conquered the fort of Baragarh[5] and destroyed the principal village of the area named Saghor.

Section 29 : This region was under the control of Raja Bhosal of Hat[6]. Many strange stories are extant about him. For example this is one of them. On the advice of his minister, Thata Mohta, he burried his own Rani alive, under the ground. The Wazir had a sister with whom the Raja was in love. The intention of the Wazir was that the Raja should remain under his control. But the Wazir's sister could not have gained the proper status and power so long as the first Rani was alive. Therefore he suggested to the Raja that if he sacrificed his Rani, the gods would be pleased and would offer him a *'kuhl'* (water channel) which could irrigate the entire kingdom. The Raja allowed the queen to be burried in order to make the land fertile. The Wazir got built a large *kuhl* and fulfilled his promise. This is in existence till today.

Similarly the following proverb about Raja Bhosal is still extant :

'Barah pethe, tharah dani,
Bhosal raja, sar na jani'.

The true meaning of the saying is like this : One villager came to sell twelve pieces of pumpkin in the bazaar of Hat. He met eighteen tax collectors and to the twelve he gave one each. The other six had to be satisfied after giving something from his own pocket. Thereafter he went to the court of Bhosal and made petition, but no one cared for him.

Section 30 : Raja Sidh Singh seized the fort of Saghor in the following manner : when he heard that the men guarding the fort had gone to the fair at Baragarh, and only a few inmates

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were left in it, he attacked the fort and captured it. Next he attacked *kothi* Kais and fought with the Thakurs of Gohri. Some of them died in action, while others immolated themselves. Thus he brought the whole *kothi* under his sway. Formerly these chiefs were vassals of the Raja of Suket and paid tribute to him. Raja Sidh Singh ruled for about 40 years and then passed away in 1546.

Raja Bahadur Singh

Section 31 : Bahadur Singh followed his father Sidh Singh. He was very courageous and brave. He endeavoured to expand his boundaries and spent much of his life in fighting.

At the time of his accession to the throne, Waziri Rupi was under the Raja of Suket. Many Ranas and Thakurs ruled under him and paid annual tribute to Suket. Once the farmers of Rupi called on the Raja of Suket with an appeal. The Raja did not pay any attention to them and instead questioned them, "From where have these crows of Ropa come?" The people felt insulted with the behaviours of the Raja and went away. Then they went to Raja Bahadur Singh at Nagar who met them in the plains of Ghordor. The Raja received them with full honour and made them sit beside himself. Then he asked, "What purpose have the whites of Ropa brought here?" Upon this manner of address, they became extremely pleased and accepted his domination.

Section 32 : As Raja Bahadur Singh had won over the public with such amiable words, he then attacked on the Thakurs and suppressed them. He subdued the Thakur of Harkandi, then that of Kanawar and Jong, in series, and seizing the forts annexed their territories.

Thereafter he attacked kothi Kotkandi. The Rana of Chhanod came himself to see the Raja. Leaving a small portion of the territory for the Rana's livelihood, the Raja annexed the rest. The Rana remained faithful throughout his life and his successors followed suit. A large and old house can still be seen at Chhanod.

Next he attacked the Thakur of Bhosa who fled away after being defeated in the war. The Raja then annexed Kothi Kotkandi and placed his own men in the fort. The Thakur was arrested after three days and brought before the Raja at Jiya. The Raja asked him whether he would like to serve under him. The Thakur replied, "Yes, I will". At this the Raja set him free and granted him Bhosa. But after reaching there he again became rebellious. The Raja again ordered arrest of the Thakur and to be produced before him. It is said that this time the Raja ordered to fetch a measure of soil from the Thakur's village. Spreading it on the ground, the latter was ordered to sit over it and then questioned, "Whether you would like to be under my authority?" The Thakur declined the Raja's authority, nor would he pay tribute. In the next move the Raja put him in another place and repeated the same questions. This time the Thakur's answers were different. The Raja concluded that the fault lay not in the Thakur, but was innate in the soil itself. The Raja decreed the soil of the village to be dug up and thrown away. The land was then distributed among the cultivators. The Thakur was imprisoned and his wife was allocated land at a different place. In Kothi Bhallan, he attacked the Thakur of Tandi, who was killed in the conflict. The forts of Dharampur and Jamid were under him. Dharampur was pulled down and Jamid besieged.

After sometime he invaded Kothi Shamshar where Bhol Thakur was ruling. Some of his kinsmen living in village Talhar sided with the Raja. They informed him that they would bring Bhol Thakur tied up before the Raja, and also arrange for his treaty with the public. In exchange he should grant irrigated land for their subsistence. The Raja accepted the terms.

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They then advised the Raja that for reaching Bhallan, the particular path was bad because there was steep climb and strategically too it was risky, for even a small strength of army above on higher reaches could defeat a large army below. The path leading through Kanawar was safe and trackable for the army and the Raja led his army the same way. When they arrived at a place called Roat the relations of the Thakur there came to join the Raja. For the same reason, the place is still known as 'Mil Diwar' (Mile Wall). The Thakur lost his life in the battle. All the areas of Kothi Shamshar came under control of the Raja and as promised he distributed some land among the kinsmen of the Thakur. In this manner, the entire Rupi valley was brought under his control and he constructed a palace for himself in village Makarhar and rehabilitated the village.

After sometime Raja Bahadur Singh attacked Shanghar from Shamshar. This area falls in Saraj. Three Thakurs ruling over the area accepted the Raja's suzerainty. After giving some land in grant, the Raja annexed the remaining area within his territory. There he constructed a house and donated to a farmer. The house has now been destroyed in fire. Then he attacked *kothi* Banogi where Basahari and Manahari Thakurs ruled. A fight ensued. Manahari Thakur was killed and Basahari Thakur accepted the Raja's suzerainty. Leaving some area for his sustenance, the rest was annexed. The descendants of this Thakur are still alive and continue to enjoy the grant. One Thakur had his fort at Banogi which the Raja got destroyed. From there he marched to Thunag through Shirikot. The Thakur defended himself, but was killed. Next he attacked on Bahramgarh and imprisoned its Thakur. He annexed the territory and left guards there. He then sent forces to Sarchain whose Thakur came to greet the Raja and agreed to pay tribute. The Raja allowed him to retain some land, and annexed the rest. This Thakur remained loyal to the Raja and his descendants.

Next came the turn of Kothi Chahni. The Thakur was killed and his territory was seized. Crowned with all these successes, the Raja returned to Makrahar. He spent the last days of his life in meditation. He reigned for 43 years and passed away in AD 1569.

Section 33 : Raja Bahadur Singh constructed the temple of Hidimba Devi at Dhungri in Manali. This temple is entirely of a new style and has three roofs of pine wood; construction of temple of this style was introduced in Kullu in his time. Besides this he gave grants to temples and gods in such a large number that even today whoever loses his evidence, claims that he enjoyed the rights since the time of Raja Bahadur Singh. Many of them still possess *sanads* granted by Bahadur Singh.

Raja Pratap Singh

Section 34 : Pratap Singh succeeded his father Bahadur Singh. He did not have to face any war and spent his life in peace for fifteen years from 1569 to 1584.

Raja Parvat Singh

Section 35 : Pratap Singh was followed by Parvat Singh. He ruled for 34 years but no event of his time is worth recording. He passed away in 1618 and left the reign in the hands of Prithi Singh.

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Raja Prithi Singh

Section 36 : No incident important and worth mentioning occurred in the time of Prithi Singh. He died in 1635 after ruling for 17 years. At the time of his death, Jagat Singh, his son, was too young, therefore his brother Man Singh, ascended the throne.

Raja Man Singh

Section 37 : Man Singh reigned for two years. Thereafter Jagat Singh regained the authority with the help of the subjects.

Raja Jagat Singh

Section 38 : Raja Jagat Singh ascended the throne in AD 1637. Vaishnavism was introduced in his time and worship of lord Vishnu became popular. Earlier, Devi was worshipped and the Rajas paid respect to the *Nathas* (followers of Shiva) and *faqirs* (saints) so much so that the Raja did not take anything until he paid visit to them, paid homage, and offered some gift and food to them. But when Raja Jagat Singh became a follower of Vaishnavism, the worship of Durga and respect of the *Nathas*, etc. declined. This fact is evident from the temples also because ancient temples are dedicated to Siva or Devi. No temple of this class belongs to Vishnu.

The tradition of worship of Vishnu commenced from the time of Jagat Singh and then the *Vairagis* (saints) also started appearing in this area. The reason for introduction of this sect is that there lived a *brahmin* named Durga in village Pirdi. His kinsmen, as a result of grudge and jealousy, complained to the Raja that the Brahmin possessed pearls measuring one *patha*. The Raja ordered arrest of the Brahmin and to be produced before him. Then he asked for pearls. The Brahmin pleaded that he did not possess any such thing. The Raja let him free but while going to Manikaran, the Raja again called for the pearls from the Brahmin through his servants who tortured him much. At last the Brahmin appealed that he will deliver the pearls on the return from the pilgrimage and thus got rid himself of the Raja's men.

While the Raja was returning and was about to reach Pirdi, the Brahmin, reminded of the same torture, shut his wife and children in the house and put it on fire. As the fire was lit and flames began leaping up, the Brahmin cut pieces of flesh from his body, with the knife that he was holding, and threw into the fire piece by piece, chanting continuously, "Take Raja, this pearl". In this manner he brought himself to end by the fire. This burnt house is still seen and the author himself has witnessed it.

It is told that when the Raja reached Makrahar and was taking his meal, he witnessed worms in rice and red blood in place of water. Durga Datt's curse was the reason for this. The Raja was frightened and searched for means to cleanse himself of the sin.

In village Brahmin, *kothi* Naggar, there lived a *Vairagi*, named Kishan Dass Pedhari. The Raja paid visit to him and asked for his advice. After thinking for sometime he advised that the Raja should adopt the faith of Vishnu. For this purpose he should bring the image of Raghunathji from Ayodhya, hand over the reign of Kullu to him, and worship Vishnu Bhagwan. In this manner he will be purged of the sin. The Raja then asked, 'how can I bring the statue of Raghunathji from such a distant place? You kindly show me the way." Kishan Dass replied, "My pupil, Damodar

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Dass, who stays at the Raja of Suket, will execute the task." The Raja at once got a letter written by the saint and dispatched to Damodar Dass. Damodar Dass asked for permission to leave and go to Raja Jagat Singh. The Raja; initially refused, but when Damodar Dass presented the letter from his guru, the Raja had no option but to allow him to go. Damodar Dass presented himself before his Guru. The Guru ordered : "You go to Ayodhya and in whatever possible manner you can, bring the statue of Raghunathji", and paid him rupees one thousand for expenses in the way on behalf of Jagat Singh.

Section 39 : Damodar Dass reached Ayodhya and landed in the house of a priest. He lived as a pupil of the priest and frequented the temple. One day when he found the temple empty and other priests were away he lifted the statue of Raghunathji and ran away. Meanwhile, when the information reached the priests, they came running behind him. One of them named Jodhavar reached searching him upto Haridwar. He caught hold of Damodar Dass and questioned as to why he had stolen the statue of the 'Thakur'. Damodar Dass made appeals and revealed that Raja Jagat Singh of Kullu had asked him to bring this statue. Jodhavar argued that "this is our source of income. Without this we will have no subsistence." Damodar Dass then replied, "Well, you will receive the same income from Kullu." Damodar Dass conveyed the message to the Raja through persons who were posted on the way, each being at the distance of 20 *kos*, for taking the statue, that the statue had been brought upto Haridwar but the priests were not allowing him to proceed further. And that the statue was the source of income of the priests of Avadh. The Raja sent a message in reply that he would remit necessary funds from Kullu. On this promise the priests allowed the statue to be taken to Kullu.

The Raja had audience of Thakurji with great happiness and abdicated all the functions of the kingdom to him. He himself worked as an agent and performed a big *yajna*. He granted to Damodar Dass land measuring 84 *khar* and a Thakurdwara (temple) at Bhuin, Kothi Kotkandi. The income of Jagatsukh Kothi was assigned towards the service of Raghunathji. One rupee and one *takka* was fixed separately as daily offering to meet the daily expenses and out of it some amount was expended on the fairs as well. A sum of rupees five hundred was remitted to Jodhavar at Ayodhya towards his expenses. He gave grants in Kullu to the priests of Ayodhya which they continued enjoying till the time of Raja Jit Singh, and they still continue to enjoy the rights and also possess copper plates.

This incident occurred in AD 1651. The Raja became so much attached to the deity that he would not eat anything before making offerings to Thakurji. Once it so happened that some sweets were brought before him and he enjoined that it should be brought after making offerings out of it to Thakurji. But before this could be done, his son picked up a piece from it and tossed it into his mouth. The Raja was so much enraged that he was prepared to behead the prince. But his guru stopped him and said that Thakurji had already accepted the sweets. The prince was ignorant and he was at no fault. Only after counseling in this way for many times, the Raja could change his mind.

The faith of Vishnu spread among the masses as a result of the preachings of the saint Kishan Dass Pedhari. The Raja accepted him as his guru and wore a necklace in his honour. The *guru* offered a statue of Narasingh to the Raja suggesting that he could eat meat also after presenting offerings to the state. Therefore the Rajas of Kullu eat the flesh of birds after making offering to Narasimha.

One packet belonging to Kishan Dass still exists in this kingdom and it is greatly revered here. There is also a saying by him popular among the people :

Uth pandi Makarsa towin pandori
uske pichhe raj wo kare
jiske raghunathji par dori.

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The essence is that only he would be able to rule over Makarsa who keeps Raghunathji happy.

Section 40 : This was the description of the religious aspect of Jagat Singh; now follows the narration of his expeditions and wars.

The king in collusion with the Raja of Mandi[7] attacked Saraj and annexed the *kothis* of Thunag, Tilokpur, Shikari, Jalor and Janja and the area of Mandi Saraj was taken over by the Raja of Mandi. Because, Jog Chand, the chief of Lag, died during those days, Raja Jagat Singh, taking advantage of this moment, annexed the forts of Berkot, Garachola, Madanpur, Thathipur, Saragpur, Tarapur, Devgarh, Istpur, Amarpur, Basarmati, etc. which were in the charge of the above chief.

However, Sayyid Ibraham, a subordinate of Dara Shikoh, who was put on duty to supervise these areas, got all these back and handed over to Sayyid Mustafa, under whose guardianship, the grandson of Jog Chand was being looked after.

In AD 1657 when Sayyid Abdur Rahim left this area, the Raja attacked the palace of Jog Chand in Dugi Lag and despatched some forces to lay siege to the fort of Sari. However, no force was sent to the fort of Shoja. Therefore, a woman composed the following couplet and sang :

Mahare Raja Jagat Singh, Sari mat marda,
Sari holi patyari, Shoja marhe Sari Lag tain mari.

The song gave the hints to the Raja that real purpose will not be served by conquering Sari, but if he subdued the fort of Shoja, the entire area could be his. On hearing this the Raja dispatched the remaining force to Shoja and captured both the forts. After this, a battle was fought with Sultan Chand on the plains of Dhalpur. He was a relative of the Raja (Jog Chand?) and lived in the town of Sultanpur which was founded by him. Here Sultan Chand was defeated. Again, when assault was made on Sultanpur, he was killed and it is said that when his head was severed, the bust kept moving forward and fighting until it reached a place named Padhak where it collapsed. Jagat Singh annexed the entire area and put the grandson in prison.

The mother of Jog Chand, through a confidant sent a petition to Dara Shikoh that Jagat Singh had grabbed all her territory and put her in prison. The prince issued orders in the name of Jagat Singh that he should return the estate of Jog Chand and release his relations from prison otherwise Jahangir Quli Beg, who was already in Kahlur with a force, would be asked to devastate the Raja's territory.

The *firman* is dated 3rd of the month of Jamadi Alsani, Hijri 1067 (= AD 1656) and Jagat Singh is addressed in it as Zamindar of Kullu. But Jagat Singh did not return the territory because at that time there was a revolt against the Emperor. Aurangzeb had imprisoned Shahjahan and removed Dara Shikoh, he himself became Emperor.

Besides this, there are two other similar *firmans* found in this kingdom. One of them is dated 5th of Shavval 1068 Hijri in which it is stated that, "the stones which you have sent are of inferior quality. My intention was to return them. In future they should be of superior quality and the mine may be considered as gifted to you." The second *firman* is dated 19th of Moharram, 1067 Hijri. Its subject matter is like this, "the pieces of saphire sent by you are not of good quality. In future you should send in larger quantity and of good quality."

Section 41 : Because at the time when the estate of Jog Chand was annexed, Mandi had laid claim on Berkot leading to a battle. Therefore the two Rajas decided that both of them should appeal to the Emperor in Delhi seeking that to whomsoever the Emperor would assign control of the fort, he will be its real owner. Therefore, both of them sent messengers with petitions to

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Delhi which each one presented separately. Both were allowed to take over the fort. Mandi people celebrated the Emperor's sympathetic decision and were looking for an auspicious moment to make assault on the fort, unaware of the fact that Kullu too had acquired *sanad* for the fort. Thus Mandi lost the opportunity. The people of Kullu at once showed the *sanad* to the authorities of the fort and obtained its possession. It is stated that this message was brought by one Doltu of village Railla, impersonating in the way as a *faqir*, and reached Kullu safely from Delhi.

Section 42 : Jagat Singh had three sons : Hari Singh, Faqir Singh and Budhi Singh. Hari Singh was of dull intellect while Faqir Singh was sharp. Since 1651 the Raja had been trying to send them to Delhi in the service of Dara Shikoh. But the plan could not materialise due to fear of travel or sometimes due to hot weather. He had also received several orders from Delhi. One order dated 28th Shajan, 1066 Hijri is still extant, in which it is recorded that, "we have written to Ibrahim Beg that no harm will encounter your son." Finally the Raja sent Faqir Singh in 1658. But during those days Dara Shikoh and Aurangzeb were engaged in hostility. Faqir Singh also lost his life in this turmoil.

Jagat Singh felt by this very much hurt and said, "I sent him to Delhi unnecessarily when the conditions were so bad there". A few days later, Jagat Singh came to Sultanpur, brought Thakur Raghunathji and built a temple in which the statue was installed. For his own use, he constructed other houses besides those of Jog Chand. He lived sometimes here and sometimes at Naggar.

Section 43 : It is said that during his time Man Singh Guleria attacked Kullu. The Kullu people presented him many silver bricks, which were in fact iron bars coated with silver. Man Singh returned home happy, but when he reached Haridwar, he learnt about the trick and attacked Kullu for the second time.

Section 44 : After sometime, Jagat Singh seized from the Raja of Suket the forts of Narayangarh, Shrigarh and Bhimri in Saraj. After this victory he came to Sultanpur. After staying there for sometime, on the advice of his guru Kishan Dass, he went to Manikaran and devoted the rest of his time in the service of his personal god because very short period of his life was left. He left for heavenly abode after eight days in AD 1662. A temple stands there even today in his memory.

Raja Hari Singh

Section 45 : Hari Singh was the elder son of Jagat Singh. He ascended the throne after his father. But being of weak character, he could not impress his subjects. Therefore the servants, the public and his younger brother Budhi Singh conspired to murder him and elevate Budhi Singh to the throne. The strategy adopted was that the Raja would be taken for a walk in a palanquin and there he would be let to fall from a cliff. Therefore one day some people took him to village Biran in Kothi Kais. But they could not gather enough courage to execute the assigned task and he was brought back. Then one day the residents of village Rosev killed the Raja. Then Budhi Singh was crowned as Raja. Village Haripur, founded by Hari Singh, is still in existence.

Raja Budhi Singh

Section 46 : Raja Budhi Singh ascended the throne in AD 1663. In 1671, he attacked Bushahar and seized the forts of Kot, Dhol and Kandi which were with Bushahar since ancient times, after

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battle of one month. When he reached back Sarahan, a companion of the Raja named Bhagto, found a *mohra* of a *devata*, which still exists in the *bhandar* (store) of the devata, in village Thrash, *kothi* Bhallan. The above incident is inscribed on it.

Section 47 : Raja Budhi Singh married with daughter of Raja of Chamba who gave the area of Lahul in dowry which since then forms a separate Waziri of Kullu. Raja Budhi Singh ruled for ten years and died in 1672.

Raja Man Singh

Section 48 : Man Singh succeeded his father. He captured the *kothi* of Pandrah Bis from Bashahar, built the forts of Dhango and Bagchha and fixed boundary with Bashahar.

Prithi Pal, the Raja of Banghal, had two sisters, one of them was married to the Raja of Mandi and the other to Man Singh. One day Prithi Pal went to see his brother-in-law, the Raja of Mandi, who got Prithi Pal murdered by treachery. His head was buried in a newly built pond which still exists and a lamp is lit there everyday. Since a vacuum had been created in the state of Banghal after Prithi Pal's murder, the Raja of Mandi sent force to occupy the region. Prithi Pal's mother wrote to Raja Man Singh, "the Raja of Mandi[8] first killed my son, and now he intends to take over the area also. I don't want to allow him to do so at any cost. If you wish to take this land, come with your force." Raja Man Singh, was stationed at this time at village Gamo, situated on the border of Bashahar and Saraj. On the receipt of the letter he immediately ordered his army to move with provisions for five days. The troops who were in readiness, advanced and camped at Larji. Next day, they stationed at Gortak, *kothi* Mangarh, and from there, through Sari Pass reached the Banghal and laid siege to the fort of Garh Kamlahi. Meanwhile Mandi forces also reached there and they occupied Karanpur and Shamsherpur and fixed boundary between Mandi and Kullu at Ahju. Man Singh handed over the administration to Sahaleg and returned to Sultanpur. Later, he went to Ladak via Lahul and fixed boundary with Tibet. From there he attacked Spiti, fixed tribute and let the administration in their own hands. He returned via Losar and reached Dhungri. The goods plundered in Spiti were deposited in the temple at Manikaran. Its quantity was so large that the roof of one temple was covered with silver from it. After reaching Kullu he conducted the settlement of land.

Section 49 : This settlement was based on visual measurement. Fortunately it was successful and continued for along time. In Kullu land is measured with rods. A measure having capacity equal to eighteen *seers* of Shahjahan's period is called *bhar*. A measure of land on which one *bhar* of barley or any other kind of crop is grown is also known as *bhar*. Sixteenth part of *bhar* is called *patha*. A *bhar* is almost equal to one acre of British system. Raja Man Singh fixed *jeola* of six and twelve *bhars*. For Dagi etc., those belonging to low caste, a *jeola* was of six *bhars* and for those of higher strata i.e. *kanait* farmers, *jeola* was of twelve *bhars*. Where land was irrigated, called *ropa*, *jeola* was fixed equal to four *kansi* and one *kansi* was equal to four *patha*. It was also fixed according to the capacity of the farmers. Dagis had to provide service in lieu of six *bhars*. They carried wood or timber and foodgrains to Sultanpur. They were given six *bhars* of land in lieu of their services. No revenue, either in cash or kind, was therefore levied from them. As regards the *kanait* farmers out of the *jeola* of 12 *bhars*, revenue for the half was remitted on account of carriage of goods, and for the remaining half they had to pay revenue. However, the system differed in Kullu and Saraj.

In Kullu area, tax was levied at the rate of one *rasokara* (goat) costing one rupee, five *kacha seer* oil and five *kacha seer ghee* per *jeola*. For every *bhar* two *seers* of *ghee*, two *seers* of oil and one

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paisa cash was levied. This rate applied upto eighteen *bhars*, beyond this there was no tax.

Apart from this, additional tax was charged at the following rates. Cash five *paise* or three; and one rupee or *areta* or *san* six *patha*; grass eighteen bundles; one rope or one *paisa* cash if one is not able to supply rope; wheat two *maunds*; pulses two *maunds*; *moong* one *patha*; and lintel one *patha*.

In Saraj area the rate of tax or revenue was like this : three *rasokra*, or cash one rupee and four *annas*; two *seers* oil; four *kacha seer* ghee; six *patha areta*; four numbers of ropes per *jeola* of land was charged. Those assigned this kind of land had to render service for six months. The whole *jeola* was made free of rent in respect of those who rendered service for the entire year. Some farmers possessed land more than one *jeola* for which they had to render services. If someone was unable to provide services, he had to pay, besides the usual tax, four rupees as *bathangi* or cost of resting at home. The servants of lower status were also given rent-free two or four or eight *jeola*, according to their status. Ordinary farmers also, who were allowed land rent free upto six *bhars*, had to render *begar* (free service) during the construction of house, road, etc. and during the war as sepoy. In other words they were zamindar subjects, *begar* workers and armymen, at the same time.

Likewise, in Lahul too, twenty *patha* constituted one *lakh* and a few *lakhs* formed one *jeola*. Tax was levied according to the capacity of the zamindars of that area as well. Since, however there was abundance of *gonth* (horses) in this area a system was devised so that the male foal was taken away as tax by the Raja from the zamindars who possessed horses, and the female was the property of the zamindar. If any zamindar wanted to retain the male foal, he had to pay fifteen rupees. These foals were brought to Kullu and were given to Wazirs for rearing. They were allotted two *jeolas* of land till the horse was alive with them. The Raja requisitioned the horses for service occasionally whenever required and returned after the service was over. If the horse died due to one's negligence or carelessness, penalty of rupees forty was levied. Where the land was irrigated, 3-4-5 *bhars* of grains, according to one's capacity, was levied. The office bearers appointed during those days were as under.

1. *Wazir* or *Tehsildar* (Revenue Officer).
2. *Shri Wazir* or the Chief Minister.
3. *Negi* or Chief of the *Nambardars.*,
4. *Daroga* .
5. *Gharanta.*
6. *Batungarh* or *harkara* (Carrier of letters and messages).
7. *Chaha* (Guard).
8. *Dhalait* or *Chobdar* (doorkeeper).
9. *Hazri.*
10. *Panjohru* or *Mulazim deodhi* .
11. *Jalalu* (Hunter who catches bears).
12. *Dangu* (Hunter).
13. *Banhat* or *Rasoidar ka sharat* (cook).
14. *Panihari* or *Paniwala* (Water carrier).
15. *Heer.*

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16. *Bhandari* or *Khazanchi* (storekeeper).
17. *Jaleru* or *Abdar* (One who serves water).
18. *Chapraksi.*
19. *Janyal.*
20. *Palsrah* or *Nambardar.*
21. *Kutyala* or *Gila ka Mafiz.*
22. *Tarbidu.*
23. *Ginakaru* (accounts keeper of cattle).
24. *Sarseya.*
25. *Mishal* (Army of the company).
26. *Pahuli.*

This kind of settlement continued till the time of Raja Jit Singh. Even now the minor settlements with the *Zamindars, Kardars* and freehold grantees have their origin in the time of Raja Man Singh. At the time of assessment of *jeola,* revenue was fixed taking into account the amount of seed required in each category of land and whatever production was obtained from it. It took five months for the assessment. As a record one, register recording the shares or mutation was maintained in each *kothi* in which description of land, area, trees, grass, etc. of each zamindar was given. Till the time of Raja Jit Singh this record was kept in a Bhandar (store) in *kothi* Chaini. Some scribes (*kayasthas*) were appointed for their protection and supervision. Whenever any zamindar wanted to make any enquiry about his land, he could obtain the details after making customary payments. *Kayasthas* took decisions based on this and the evidence in the record book.

Section 50 : Even after this Raja Man Singh made three or four attempts on Saraj and subdued the Thakur of Shangri after crossing the Satluj. After keeping aside some land for his use, the remaining was annexed to Kullu. There he built the fort named Kangal. After assessing the expenditure etc., on the servants posted there, one hundred rupees were left and the same was fixed as tribute. Then he built the fort of Shrikot and conquered the areas of Kotgarh and Kumarsen, etc., making them tributaries. During this time Mandi attacked the forts of Garhchola, Madanpur, Tarapur which are situated in Waziri Lag Maharaj.

Man Singh, leading his full strength of forces, which then was in Saraj with him, went to challenge Mandi and recaptured all his areas. In addition he conquered even the territory of Mandi extending to distant places like Guma, Darang alongwith salt mines, which he sold at the rate of one paisa per *kacha* maund. Stones of kitchen hearth of his time can still be seen there.

Raja Man Singh then advanced further and went on plundering right upto Drangsi. There he received a letter from the mother of the Raja of Mandi (Suraj Sen) who was the former's sister-in-law, with the message : "My son is still a child. He made no fault. This attack was done owing to ignorance and misfortune of the Wazirs. So take care of this child and pardon him for the mistake of making the attack." As Man Singh accepted the request, the queen, after consulting all her relations, paid the expenses incurred in war and compromised. Raja Man Singh also returned the areas of Sanchar, Badar, Tavrang, etc., and maintained the old boundaries. Thereafter the Raja turned towards Saraj and reaching the place named Rahtwa, he built a palace for himself and planted a mango orchard. It was the first of its kind in the

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area. Initially he lived in this place, but when he developed friendship with the Rani of Kumarsen, he shifted to Shrikot and started living there. The Raja of Kumarsen did not like it and contacted the Raja of Bushahar who was under the Raja of Kullu since ancient times. The two hatched conspiracy to murder Raja Man Singh. They camouflaged their forces on the way between Shrikot and Ramlot. Raja Man Singh was then engaged in battle with Suket and his army was busy in laying siege. One day while he was returning alongwith only a few persons, the Bushaharis attacked him in the forest. The Raja countered them with great courage, as much as a single person could. Finally he was killed leaving signs of his bravery. It is said that at the place where his body is buried grass does not grow even today. This incident took place on 13th day of the month of *Had (Ashad)*, *Samvat* 1772, corresponding to 10th June, 1717. Raja Man Singh ruled for twenty years and Kullu progressed greatly because of his capability both in war and administration.

Raja Raj Singh

Section 52 : Raja Man Singh had three sons, Raj Singh, Padam Singh and Inder Singh by his two *ranis*. Inder Singh died young, but Man Singh loved the mother of Padam Singh more than the other, and she used to advise the Raja to give heirship of the kingdom to Padam Singh. Ultimately it made an impression on the mind of the Raja also. But Padam Singh could claim no right to the throne so long as Raj Singh was alive. Therefore a conspiracy was hatched to murder Raj Singh and the task was assigned to Thiri and Dyari Wazir Udi Ram. He took pity on the prince and was also doubtful about Raja's firmness of mind, he might take revenge as a result of repentance for his own misdeed. Then there will be no way out. Therefore he was mentally not prepared for this and feigned making efforts. At last he disclosed the secret to Raj Singh who then fled away to village Vijaypur of Kangra. He was married among the Raja's own relations and kept with great honour. He had an issue. The place is still known as Jai Singh. In fact Raj Singh stayed in Kangra till Man Singh was alive, but when he died, Raj Singh returned to Kullu and ascended the throne with the help of the people.

During this time the Thakurs of Kumarsen and others, with the help of Bushahar, captured the forts of Slachin, Bagi and Lavakaran, but Raj Singh soon recaptured them. He then attacked Bushahar and captured the areas of Thiti Jagotri and while returning looted Sarahan in the region of Bushahar. He also took with him a stone from the palace of Bushahar Raja as memento, which is placed in the wall of the old school where the court of the Wazirs used to be held during the time of Rajas. It is inscribed, "Raja Raj Singh brought this from the palace of Bushahar."

Raja Raj Singh attacked Mandi and captured the fort and area of Kothi Raghavpur. The battle was fought with the assistance of farmers of Kothi Maharaja who led them in entering the fort and fought with the inmates of the fort for three days. Thereafter the remaining army joined them and they were victorious. After this victory the Raja did not fight any longer. Spending the rest of his life in peace, he passed away in AD 1738.

Raja Jai Singh

Section 53 : Raja Jai Singh succeeded his father. Since it had been predicted that Tedhi Singh, son of Padam Singh, will become ruler, Jai Singh had him expelled from the country. He went to his maternal uncle 's house at Siba (Kangra). Raja Jai Singh built a house at Jia. He employed every citizen, men and women, in Kullu, for *begar* and put them to work; he ordered that pregnant

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women giving birth to a son might go home for some days, but those having daughter should continue doing *begar* at the palace, and the girl child be decimated thereat at once. This agitated the public. They planned as scheme in connivance with Dyari Wazir who had been expelled sometime back since the Raja was unhappy with him and was living at village Karcti above Kaipu. The resentment was so deep that when the Raja visited his palace at Pratappur, nobody greeted him with 'Jaideya', they rather caught hold of the Raja's aides and threw them down the precipices of Seund into the Parvati river. This happened in AD 1738. The Raja immediately returned to Sultanpur. He was so much frightened that taking fifty men with him he went to Lahore for seeking aid. He also took with him his concubine whom he loved greatly. She had great influence over the Raja and he did whatever she dictated.

Finding the appropriate time, Mandi (Sidh Sen) attacked and wrested the forts of Amargarh, Loyogarh, Sarti, Hastpur and also captured the Ilaqa of Chohari. On arriving at Lahore, the Raja entered into the service of the Badshah and entreated for aid. The Badshah taking pity on him, presented him invaluable wealth and jewellery, and promised to help him saying 'the rebels will be crushed and your land will be handed over to you'. But misfortune was waiting for him here too. In reality the person of Raja was so handsome that even the Badshah was taken aback and this was the reason that made him the subject of Badshah's compassion. The princess of the Badshah was still more beautiful. She fell in love with the Raja at the first glance itself. Keeping aside the morality of shame and etiquette, she told her mother to marry her to the prince or else she would be ruined. The queen then informed the king about the condition of their daughter. The Badshah sent his man to the Raja with the message, 'if you are ready to be converted into a Muslim, I will marry my daughter to you and get your territory also back for you. Besides you will be given still better treatment'. The Raja was frightened in the name of conversion. Therefore, he sent all his belongings to Jai Singhpur and fled away from Lahore alongwith fifty men. He also sent a letter in the name of Tedhi Singh, the subject of which is, "I have abdicated the reign of Kullu in your favour. You go there and take over the rule. I am going on pilgrimage". Letters were despatched on similar lines to his Ranis and Wazirs also advising them that they should obey the orders of Tedhi Singh, who should be treated as their king since he had handed over the reigns of kingdom of Kullu to Tedhi Singh.

Tedhi Singh was in Siba at the time he received the news of Raja Jai Singh's movement from Lahore. He set out to Kullu but the Kangra people caught him on the way and put him in prison. Jai Singh was the nephew of Katoch (Raja of Kangra). Tedhi Singh's journey to Kullu was therefore considered as inappropriate hence this action was taken. He even showed the letter to the Raja of Kangra so that they would allow him to go but they did not let him go.

Then the men of Raja Jai Singh, who had come with the letter, carried away Tedhi Singh, in the night at the right moment. One of them slept in the bed of Tedhi Singh. Tedhi Singh was taken to Bir in Banghal in the night. From there he came to Kullu and took over the reign.

Raja Jai Singh spent the rest of this life in holy places. He breathed his last at Ram Darbar in Avadh on March 1, 1744.

Raja Tedhi Singh

Section 54 : Although Tedhi Singh assumed the rule, nobody followed his orders, and the entire kingdom became independent. As soon as Jai Singh left for Lahore, everywhere villagers in groups of two or four met together and elected their own independent ruler, who was called *Sayana*. Moti Singh Nani was the foremost among them and he was defender of all of them. This

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condition prevailed till AD 1743. But in 1744 the public supported the Raja and took his side and decided to remove all the *Sayanas* and establish the rule of the Raja. But nobody could muster enough courage to murder any of the *Sayanas*.

Finally, one day while Moti Singh was standing at the door of the store in the palace, in Sultanpur, the Raja touched his body with a stick signalling to hit at him. Immediately the zamindar standing nearby, struck a blow on Moti Singh with a stick and killed him instantly. Alongwith him many other *Sayanas* and *Mowanas* were killed the same day. Still the rule of Tedhi Singh was not firmly established. Suddenly as luck favoured, one thousand *vairagis* came from Punjab in order to spend four rainy months in the hills. They had been coming since the time of Raja Jagat Singh, because they were given very good treatment by the state. Raja Tedhi Singh employed them in his service which created impact on the subjects. The rebels were killed and some others were tied, as a mark for distinguishing, iron ring in one of the ear and of silver in the other. The Raja of Kangra then observing Tedhi Singh triumphant despatched *chomwari, morchhal* (peacock feather) to Tedhi Singh and recognised him as Raja of Kullu. Raja Jai Singh had died by this time.

The stranger who had occupied Tedhi Singh's bed, impersonating him, in Jaisinghpur, was awarded the title of *Negi* and given a palanquin for his carriage so that he could go anywhere he liked throughout the kingdom.

The concubine of Raja Jai Singh was staying at Mandi. She had come to Mandi from Lahore when Jai Singh left the place. There, the Raja of Mandi, associated a *faqir* with her whose appearance resembled that of Raja Jai Singh. He was tutored to follow the manners and habits of Jai Singh. He had to remember the names of persons who accompanied the Raja to Lahore. After this the Raja of Mandi despatched a small force alongwith him to Hindwa in the area of Saraj. There the fake Raja hid the women from inside, gave all the descriptions of the visitor, his name, family, etc. Then he talked with the visitor accordingly. Thus he was able to impress upon the people of Saraj that he was Raja Jai Singh. When he reached Plach, Raja Tedhi Singh received information that Mandi people had sent a *faqir* with the concubine. He informed about the trick to this subjects. But no one believed, for they were sure that the *faqir* was Raja Jai Singh. Meanwhile the persons who had accompanied Jai Singh had returned to Kullu. They had brought the news that Raja Jai Singh had died of plague, and they were coming straight from Haridwar after having immersed the Raja's mortal remains into the river. Some of their companions had left for Gaya. Considering their return as fortunate the Raja sent Zinda priest and Shyam Katya from among them, to question the *faqir* and apprise the people of the real position. The concubine introduced them to the *faqir* and he then had conversation with them accordingly. When asked as to who he was, he told that he was Raja Jai Singh. He even expressed surprise that they had forgotten their own Raja. Then they asked the *faqir*, "True, if it is so, then tell us who were with you when you fled from Lahore and where did you stay on the way?" The *faqir* had no answer to these questions. He could only say that he did not remember anything. On hearing this the people caught hold of him and expelled him from the kingdom. The persons accompanying him were killed and others were not allowed to advance beyond Hat. The Raja was informed that the person was only a *faqir* and the real Raja had died long back. The Ranis of Jai Singh, on hearing this news committed *sati* alongwith the sword of the Raja and showed their faithfulness towards him.

Section 55 : The tempest subsided and Raja Tedhi Singh ruled peacefully, and amassed a large amount of wealth. He passed away on Paush 9, Sambat 1824, corresponding to 10 January, 1767. He was so much loved that 64 *ranis* and other women committed sati alongwith his body. The custom of *sati* originated from love. In the *Dharmashastras*, which are prescribed for observance

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by men and women, among the duties of women, love and devotion towards their husbands have been given such a high status that she considers only her husband as her beloved, his life as her own life, his death as her own death, and for the same reason she sacrifices her life alongwith her husband. Raja Tedhi Singh reigned for 33 years. Engraving of his image on a large stone is found at Naggar where similar images of earlier Rajas are also placed. The images of his Ranis and concubines are also engraved alongwith that of the Raja.

Raja Pritam Singh

Section 56 : Tedhi Singh had eighteen sons, of which only Pritam Singh and Charan Singh were alive at the time of his death. Pritam Singh was elder and succeeded his father in AD 1767. Raja Ghamand Chand of Kangra came during his time to demand tribute. A tense fight ensued at Shamshi. This was time of heavy rains, therefore supplies were disrupted and the Raja of Kangra had to return admitting defeat. The Bushaharis attacked and snatched the fort of Shrikot, which was under Kullu since the time of Raja Man Singh. But because Wazir Ranjit of Bushahar and Wazir Angad of Kullu were close friends, the latter advised the former that they will attack the fort of Gamo. The Kullu forces immediately attacked the fort of Gamo, demolished it and was brought under the control of Wazir Angad. Consequently the two Rajas compromised exchanging the control of the forts of Gamo and Shrikot and agreeing not to reconstruct them at all. After this, the forces of Raja Pritam Singh attacked Mandi and conquered the forts of Kandi etc. after laying siege for one year. A new fort named Sila was built. The Raja of Mandi then complained to Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra that Kullu had taken away a sizable part of his territory. Sansar Chand was already irritated with Pritam Singh for the defeat of his grandfather Ghamand Chand at the hands of Kullu Raja, and was awaiting for appropriate time to take revenge. On hearing the complaint from Mandi, his anger was aggravated and he invaded Kullu. Kullu returned the fort, but Sansar Chand's forces continued their march even then and reached Bajaura. He was sent back with a tribute of rupees twenty thousand. Pritam Singh had collected this sum out of the sale of property of some (heirless) shopkeepers, because in those days the property of the heirless citizens was acquired as state property.

Raja Pritam Singh had two Ranis, one Jamwali and the other Katochi. One day Rani Katochi complained to Pritam Singh that Rani Jamwali was having relationship with some other man. The Raja, without making investigation had the Rani buried alive in *kothi* Raison. But after a few days when the Raja learnt that Katochi had conveyed this only due to her jealousy against the other Rani, he ordered the grave to be dug up. It was found that the body was intact except for the little finger which was wounded. This made the Raja feel ashamed and he was filled with a sense of remorse. But nothing could be done now. In AD 1781 with the grace of god Lakshminarayan, whose temple is situated in Batadhi village, *kothi* Harkandi, a mine of *seesa* (lead?) was discovered near the village Jharihi (= Jari), which nobody knew till then. The Raja made some grants to *Thakurji* (*devata*) out of the income from it, a custom which is followed till today.

Section 58 : This Raja had great fascination for palaces. He made some additions to the existing palace at Sultanpur and also built some new houses. It is said that a building named Bangla was built thrice and was pulled down again as many times. He built it for the fourth time but was still dissatisfied and ordered its demolition. On the advice of the Wazir, prince Vikramjit Singh then requested the Raja that even though it was not to the liking of the king, it might be retained for the prince's benefit, and the Raja could get built a new palace. Upon this the Raja

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showed great displeasure upon the *Kanwar* (prince) for he had interfered in the orders of the Raja. The Raja, therefore, decided to get himself relieved of the worldly affairs.

Section 59 : An episode is famous about this Raja. Once during the rainy season, noticing the clear weather, he spread *ashrafis* (gold coins) in the sun for drying. Wazir Udhe Ram was assigned the duty for their protection. He pasted gum from the pine trees on the sole of his feet and stuck *ashrafis* on it. When the *ashrafis* were taken back to the *bhandar* (chest), it was noticed that these weighed less. On enquiry, the Wazir answered, "This is the proof of the fact that the substance has actually dried up." The Raja was satisfied with the answer and kept silent.

Section 60 : Raja Pritam Singh established a mint and issued coins in the name of Emperor Aurangzeb, on which the legend "... Shah Aurangzeb Alamgir" was engraved. For the sake of honour, its weight was kept less than that of the rupee coin of Delhi. The coin was known as Pritam Singh's coin but is no longer available. Only Gehru, son of Dharam Singh, of village Chahni, has in his possession, since during the time of Pritam Singh his ancestors were the *Negi* (chief of the manufacturers) of the mint. He also issued coins of two *anna* and four *anna* denominations. Silver for the mint was obtained from the roof of the temples in Manikaran which were made of silver plundered from Spiti by Raja Man Singh. Besides large quantity of gold and silver in collection of Tedhi Singh's mother was also used in the mint. But these coins were in currency only for a short period and are now out of circulation.

Section 61 : After Raja Sansar Chand was paid tribute and presents were offered each year in the form of yak-tail, musk and horses, he took a lenient view towards Pritam Singh and was kind to him. Moreover Wazir Angad of Kullu was deputed to the court of the Raja of Kangra as a *Vakil* (Pleader, or Minister). The Raja praised the Wazir and honoured him. Finding the time appropriate, Raja Pritam Singh sought permission from Sansar Chand to invade Mandi, and annexed the forts of Devgarh, Amargarh, and also the area of Chohari, which since Jai Singh's time was under the control of Mandi. Pritam Singh passed away in AD 1806 after reigning for 39 years. 35 women died with him, although he had only ten *ranis*. This Raja was much too weak since he trusted everyone and did not ascertain about the veracity of statements made to him. Consequently he took life of many innocent people on being incited by others. After him, his son Vikram Singh ascended the throne.

Raja Vikraman Singh

Section 62 : During the time of Vikraman Singh, Mandi again attacked the area of Chohari and conquered Deograh, etc. after a fierce fight and much bloodshed; they, however, failed to even approach the fort of Amargarh. It was strongest of all the forts and the Kullu forces maintained their command. The forces of Mandi seized the fort and then a battle followed. In the month of *Vaishakha* the forces of Kullu attacked Mandi. Mian Charan Singh was their leader. In the battle Mian Ram Singh and Balak Singh lost their lives. Other forces left the battleground after being inflicted defeat and the fort of Amargarh remained in the hands of Kullu army. Kullu then attacked Saraj Mandi and conquered the fort of Bagrah. The area remained under Kullu for three years after which it changed hands with Mandi.

During the time of Vikram Singh, Shah Shuja came to Kullu via Lahul. Vikraman Singh went to receive him upto Ras (Raison?), presented him 300 *ashrafis* as gift and took care of him so long as he remained in the territory of Kullu. All kinds of provisions were supplied to him at every stage of march. He proceeded to Shimla crossing the Plach and Jalori Pass. He was pleased and grateful for the services rendered by the Raja of Kullu.

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Section 63 : During the last days of Raja Vikraman Singh, the Gorkhas captured the forts of Hato which were under control of Kullu and deposed the Rana of Kumarsain. Raja Vikraman Singh dispatched a strong force of 5,000 men to recover the forts and the areas which were tributaries of Kullu. The forces were successful in dislodging the Gorkhas and regained the lost territories from them. Mani Ram and Jhagru were commanding the Kullu army and that of the Gorkhas was being led by Amar Singh. At this time the British army under the leadership of General Ochterlony, arrived at Rajgarh and order was issued from there to all the hill Rajas that the Gorkhas should be expelled from their kingdoms and their arms snatched. The same was done. The Rana of Kumarsen reached Rajgarh, accepted the supremacy of British government and stopped paying tribute to Kullu. The British government also ordered Vikraman Singh that his dominion shall include only the fort of Kangal and the Thakurains of Shangri and Indirvi on the other side of the Satluj, and that he should vacate the other areas. He was helpless and did as directed. He recalled his forces from the other side of the Satluj to this side. The British government thereafter granted him *sanad* and authority to retain the area of Shangri. This area is now being administered by Mian Hira singh, son of Jhagar Singh.

Section 64 : Kanwar Jit Singh was born on 19 December, 1810. In 1812 Sardar Desa Singh, representative of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, came to demand tribute and collected sum of 40,000 rupees. In 1814 the Sikh agents came to Banghal demanding tribute. But Kullu declined to pay. Then Dewan Mohkam Chand, alongwith state officials from Siba, Kutlehr, Jaswan and Mandi, etc. and Nathu Wazir from Kangra, all came upto Bajaura. The Raja, in consultation with the public and the Minister sent Wazirs Sobha Ram, Karam Dass and Moti Katya and Puran Diwan before Mohkan Chand who agreed to pay 50,000 rupees. Later on the Raja refused to pay when he went to *kothi* Baragarh and consulted the eminent zamindars and publicmen. Wazir Sobha Ram suggested that the Sikhs had strength of one lakh, and in comparison to it their own force was too small. It was therefore, not possible to face them. However, the Raja ignored his advice. Someone had added that they should at least have once encounter with the enemy. The Sikhs attacked Sultanpur. The Raja fled up towards Bhekhli village. The Sikh army looted the treasury and the palace, and ravaged the town, and then turned towards Bhekhli. The Raja fled from there to Naggar via Dwara. He called Wazir Sobha Ram there and ordered that he should arrange to send the Sikh army back in any possible manner. Wazir Sobha Ram, Karam Dass and Sangat Ram went to the Sikhs and agreed to pay two lakh rupees as the expenses of war and presented one lakh rupees to Mohkam Chand as bribe. The Sikh army thus withdrew. Kullu incurred loss of twenty lakh rupees in the war. Out of the three lakh rupees, two lakhs were paid in cash from the treasury and one lakh was borrowed from one Gasain named Ilaichi Gir for which several persons had to be kept in his captivity. He took them to Mandi and released them only when he received the payment in full.

The Raja fell ill after this and when he felt that he would not recover, he sent for his younger brother Kishan Singh and told him that as his son was still young the latter should take over the reign after his death and hand over to his son when he attained majority. Kishan Singh gave his assent to the proposal. In the month of October, 1816 he died and alongwith him 30 women gave away their life.

Raja Jit Singh

Section 65 : Jit Singh sat on the throne after his father Vikram Singh. He was six years old at that time. But the public and the Wazirs chose him to install as Raja and they rejected the claim made to the throne by Kishan Singh and his mother. The investiture ceremony was

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performed by Goshain Ram Bala, resident of Ayodhya in the temple of Raghunathji. Raja Isri Sen of Mandi came personally and presented the peacock feather, and the Wazir of Suket presented yak-tail and peacock feather. Raja Sansar Chand sent two representatives Wazir Novang (Norang) and the priest for performing the ceremony. According to tradition this ceremony was initiated by the Raja of Kangra followed by others. But this time it was done by the Raja of Mandi. As a result, Sansar Chand was perturbed and recalled his Wazir. During the infancy of Raja Jit Singh, Sobha Ram was all powerful and *de facto* Raja. He had the property of Kishan confiscated. He was in possession of large amount of wealth because his mother Katochi, being close to Raja Pritam Singh, used to get most expensive gifts. Later, the property was restored to Kishan Singh. Then he fled to Kangra.

Differences arose between Sobha Ram, the Chief Minister and Keshav Ram, Wazir of Lag Sari. The former advised the Raja to imprison Keshav Ram in the fort of Berkot and ultimately had him executed. The relatives of the deceased hatched conspiracy to install Kishan Singh, as Raja of Kullu, with Raja Sansar Chand who was already disgruntled with the Raja of Kullu. In 1820 with the assistance of Kangra, Kishan Singh attacked Kullu. Jit Singh who was only ten years old, fled to Kotdhar in Mandi and sought help of the Raja of Mandi, and agreed to transfer as a reward the fort of Amargarh. Kishan Singh was defeated and arrested. His army was stripped naked and had to return donning rice straw in place of loin cloth. Kishan Singh was retained in captivity at Jagatsukh and was then transferred to the fort of Mong in Plach where he breathed his last. As per agreement, Mandi took possession of the fort of Amargarh. Kishan Singh's wife gave birth to a son in 1821 who was named Pratap Singh. Some people raised doubt whether he was the real son of Kishan Singh. The Rani had a maid of Brahmin caste who gave birth to a daughter and on the same day a boy was born in the village of Bhangal. The girl child was exchanged for this boy and was named Pratap Singh. When he grew to the age of six-seven years, he was taken to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who was on pilgrimage. He took Pratap Singh alongwith him to Lahore and was kept in comfort. He was granted the village of Mandal in Kangra and when this was confiscated, he was given another village named Baserh.

Section 66 : In 1821, Moorcroft visited Kullu and went to Ladakh through Kullu. He met the Raja who presented the visitor some *ashrafis*, and the visitor in turn offered a binocular and an English musical instrument. The Raja received him warm heatedly and treated him with great honour and conducted him safely to the borders of his territory. Sahib Bahadur has recorded in his book that when he visited Kullu, the Sikhs were collecting revenue from Kullu. It is known here as *'faut'*. Under the system of *'faut'* every zamindar and free grant-holder paid tax, annually besides remitting a sum of five thousand rupees to Lahore. *Faut* was not based on the area of land owned, but on the number of heads. One who possessed one *bhar* of land paid six rupees and those who owned one hundred *bhars* of land also paid the same amount of tax.

Section 67 : Revenue continued to be paid at this rate till 1839 but in 1840 people protested demanding that Tulsu Negi should also pay tax at least once. He had been a playmate of Raja Jit Singh and the Raja treated him with great regard. The Raja followed whatever he was told. As a result he had amassed a large wealth. The people impressed considerably on the Raja to order Tulsu for doing so, but the Raja declined to listen to their request. The people, therefore, became more agitated against Tulsu and were prepared to even take his life. He fled to the British territory and started living at Kaipu in Shimla district where nobody could harm him.

In this turmoil, there was default in the remittance of *faut* to the Sikh government. After waiting for sometime the Sikhs despatched a force through Bushahar under the command of Sardar Chet Singh. Raja Jit Singh went to Shamshi to receive him, from there they went to the town. Jit Singh conducted him to the temple of Raghunathji. Thereafter they halted in the residence of the Raja

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which is situated near the famous Tehsil of Sobha Ram. When Jit Singh was about to leave for his palace, the Sikhs stopped him and ordered, "Raja Sahib, unless you vacate all the forts, you cannot go to your palace". The Raja was compelled and agreed to vacate. Sardar Chet Singh allowed Jit Singh to retain the area of Waziri Parol. Ten days later Sardar Gurmukh Singh came with army to take possession of the forts. They first went to Berkot and then they took over the forts of Saraj. While returning to Kullu, on reaching village Monari, the Sardar addressed the Raja and said, "Raja Sahib, now you come alongwith us to Lahore". Proper orders will be issued to you there. On the way they often said sarcastically, "Raja Sahib, say Gobind, Gobind". This meant that the Raja would be imprisoned in the fort of Gobindgarh at Amritsar. The Raja was frightened and pretended to be sick for two days. In the meantime, he wrote to the people and Negis, to rescue him, in whatever manner possible, from this bondage. The people too were fed up with the behaviours of the Sikh soldiers. Seeing right moment they hid themselves in the thick forests and message was conveyed to the Raja to be ready the next morning. The Raja acted accordingly and ordered his servants that, "tomorrow we have to walk along the ridge". When all the provision were despatched the Raja sat in the 'Sukhpal' and climbed towards the ridge". The soldiers having no knowledge of the topography, were left behind. The Raja reached over the ridge. Soon guns were fired from the top on the soldiers who were taken by surprise and many of them were killed.

Jit Singh then wrote to Mian Thakur Singh who was staying at Sultanpur to be alert and send the *ranis* to Kaipu where Jit Singh intended to go. The area was under British and there would be no fear from anybody. They will stay there waiting for time to change.

There was revolt in the country. Battle was declared in all the forts. People gathered at Sultanpur which was led by Mian Thakur Singh. The two forces clashed on the ridge of Jamli and Bhekhli. Several in the enemy forces were killed. Similar battle was fought in Dobhi and Kothi Kais where the enemy was routed. The palaces of the *ranis* were guarded by the enemy forces. When the news reached Thakur Singh, he made several attempts to free the *ranis*. Tunnels were dug under the walls and they were rescued through them. They were first taken to Naggar, then to Malana and from there, through Manikaran to Kaipu. Unfortunately, the Raja had already expired in the last month of 1841, before the Ranis could reach there. The Ranis resolved that they would commit Sati, according to the custom of the land; since this area was under British rule, they were not allowed to carry out their desire and after sometime they had to return to Kullu. The Sikhs granted them some land for their livelihood. Rani Keonthli died during the Sikh period but Rani Katochi lived till the British time and died in 1862.

Section 68 : Because the Sarajis had killed many Sikh soldiers, the Sikhs transferred Saraj to Mandi, the perpetual rival of Kullu. They put the houses of the Sarajis to fire, looted their property and tortured them in many ways. At Kullu, the Sikhs again invaded the town, took over its possession and consigned in the charge of 'Kanun Goyan' of Nadaun. The arrangement continued for five years. Then came Dhyan Singh and thereafter Sardar Lehna Singh Majitha. With him came Pratap Singh, son of Kishan Singh, who for years was living at Lahore and had presented five thousand rupees for the promise made by the Sardar to place him on the throne of Kullu. On the other hand, at Kaipu, Wazir Kapuru installed Ranbir Singh, son of Jhagar Singh as Raja, who was then only one year old, so that he himself could assume the powers of the kingdom, like Wazir Sobha Ram. Therefore, in order to obtain approval and *sanad* from the Sikh government, he proceeded to Lahore, but he was arrested at Mandi and ultimately died in prison.

Section 69 : When Sardar Lehna Singh Majitha arrived at Bajaura, the adversaries of Pratap Singh revealed all his secrets to the Sardar. Besides, the public of Kullu were not in favour of Pratap Singh's institution as Raja of Kullu. He was greeted with great respect, as if he was his close friend or brother.

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Raja Thakur Singh

Section 70 : Mian Thakur Singh, son of Pritam Singh, was born in 1814 of an unmarried woman and for sometime he earned his livelihood from the *jagir* received by his mother. In addition to this, his mother had purchased some land out of the grants made to the *brahmins* of Jagatsukh, etc. income from which too was received in his share. Being a courageous person, Raja Jit Singh respected him more than any one else in his family. Lehna Singh took him to Lahore alongwith Budhgir Goshain and other *Negis* and Wazirs and was given audience by Maharaja Sher Singh who then declared the former as the Raja of Kullu, with promise of Waziri. Maharaja Sher Singh performed the customary ceremony of investiture by offering yak tail and peacock feathers and granted him the title of Raja Kullu. This happened in 1844. When Maharaja Sher Singh asked him to choose the Waziri, he opted for Waziri Parol. But the Wazirs suggested to ask for Waziri Rupi, because most of land granted to them was located in this Waziri and they had anticipated that if the Waziri remained under Sikh administration, their property would be impounded. Besides, another *sanad* was granted authorizing him to levy tax at the rate of one rupee per household. The Raja visited Lahore each year in the winter to pay homage at the Darbar and returned before the onset of summer.

Section 71 : When the battle of Bhonjari was fought on the bank of the Satluj between the forces of British Company Bahadur and Sikh government, Raja Thakur Singh took side of the Sikhs and at that time Kishan Singh, son of Pratap Singh was also present. But after this nothing is heard of him whether he died in the battle or something else happened to him. When the Sikhs were defeated people ran away and Raja Thakur Singh also returned to Kullu. Barosu was appointed as Kardar of Bhanghal. In Lahore, the British had taken over the administration from the Sikhs. The Raja also collected about 5,000 persons at Kullu and invaded the remaining Sikh camps. The Raja pitched his tent at Dhalpur and from there assaulted Sultanpur town. The detachment was led by Jhagru Negi. The enemy forces were inside the walls of the town and those of the Raja were outside. Finally the Raja's forces broke the gate open and chased away Bhajnu, the Sikh Kardar. It is said that it was Jhagru Negi who broke the windows of the gate with kicks, in memory of which a song was composed :

"Bune shahra ujhe Bhekhli joni,
Jhagru Negi Parol bhoni."

"Know that below is the town and the village of Bhekhli above, Jhagru Negi broke open the gate".

The people went chasing upto Padhak whereupon Bhajnu took refuge at the feet of Rani Katochi, and was saved. Thakur Singh now captured the palace. Rani Katochi offered him the usual objects of investiture in the Raghunath temple. Bhajnu left for his home and Thakur Singh became the supreme ruler. Tika Ram was appointed as the Chief Minister. He ordered the *pattas* of grants to be prepared. This area was included in British Raj and was attached with Shimla district under Erskine Sahib. Only Waziri Rupi was left under Thakur Singh.

Section 72 : Mr. Erskine made summary settlement of this area. The reign of Waziri Rupi, he assigned to Raja Thakur Singh, with the approval of the Council, alongwith civil and criminal powers. When Raja Vijay Sen of Mandi was enthroned Mr. Faux presented yak tail to Thakur Singh also on the pattern of Mandi and Suket. Thakur Singh spent his whole life in the Waziri and enjoyed the powers. He died in 1852. He had four *ranis*, but had issue from only one. Because this Rani was married before the Raja's coronation, the other three treated her as inferior in status. However Gyan Singh, son of the first Rani, succeeded his father, Thakur Singh.

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Rai Gyan Singh

Section 73 : Gyan Singh was eleven year's old at the time of his father's death. He was born on 9 February, 1841. Burden of debt and war accompanied him since his birth. Ranis of Thakur Singh wanted that Gyan Singh be divested of his rights and the estate divided among the Ranis. Eventually the rights should be transferred to government after their death. Upon this the government started collecting tax from the three *kothis* of Kanawar, Chong and Harkandi. This report reached the capital and the Lt. Governor, Punjab, after due enquiry granted the entire Rupi to Gyan Singh.

Section 74 : One day in 1856, a *faqir* came in Kothi Kais and reaching the house of one of the maid servants of the wife of Kishan Singh, son of Pratap Singh, called her out. As she came out she enquired as to who he was. In reply he asked, "Don't you recognise me? I am Pratap Singh. But don't disclose to anybody else". The woman treated him with respect and served him well. On the next day she informed the wife of Mian Pratap Singh in village Badah, Kothi Maharaja, about the stranger. The woman sent her brother Bir Singh for enquiry. Bir Singh questioned the *faqir* about his identity and whence he had come. The *faqir* told that he was a poor traveller and had come to visit this place. Bir Singh reported on return to his sister, "By face he looks like Pratap Singh, but I can't believe". She was irritated with her brother's answer, and directed him, "surely he is Pratap Singh. Go and bring him along". Then he went again to the *faqir* taking 3-4 persons with him and again asked him to tell the truth about his identity. He told, "I am Pratap Singh". When he was questioned about certain secret things of his home, he replied, "It has been a long time since and I have forgotten everything". He was then brought to Badah. When the woman saw him, she recognised him as Pratap Singh, and enjoined him to change his demeanour. Bir Singh in a moment shaved off his head. It is said that the *faqir* wept much seeing his long hair being cut, which he had maintained with great care for a long time. He was then given bath and new dress. Thus he appeared like real Pratap Singh and lived for a long time as the owner of the household. He had two sons with that woman and both of them live in the village Bhir (or Bher).

Section 75 : In 1857, when the *purvis* (i.e. the people of U.P. and Bihar) rose in revolt, Wazir Surat Ram and others hatched a conspiracy in collusion with Pratap Singh, asking to nominate him as Raja, that Captain Hay Sahib, Asstt. Commissioner, Kullu, and Rai Gyan Singh, will be dismissed and the reign of Kullu will be taken over from them, because they were having the idea that all the Englishmen had been killed and the Hindus had taken over the country's reign.

At Sultanpur, a large quantity of gunpowder, other arms and ammunitions had been stored in the palace since the time of the Sikhs. Surat Ram Wazir had knowledge of this and he informed Pratap Singh also about this. Next day he approached Captain Sahib and complained; "Although it is your order that none should hold arms and ammunition, but Gyan Singh is acting against your orders and his intentions are not good." Captain Sahib went into the palace accompanied by Pratap Singh and recovered a large stock of ammunition as informed by Surat Ram. He had the material destroyed. Gyan Singh's servants were arrested and Pratap Singh's name was acclaimed as the well wisher of the government.

At this time cholera had spread in the town and a woman died of this disease. In the evening, people were returning home carrying torch light after cremating the dead body. Some people informed Captain Sahib upon this that people had come from Saraj to get release of Gyan Singh. It was later learnt that they were returning from the cremation ground and the Sahib was much displeased with the informer. After eight days Pratap Singh wrote to the *zamindars* of Saraj that, the Englishmen have been exterminated and the rule has now passed on to the hands of Hindus.

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Therefore if you all come here, we can finish off Rai Gyan Singh and Mr. Hay alongwith the employees". The letter was intercepted by the Tehsildar of Plach and he immediately informed Hay Sahib Bahadur. He ordered Pratap Singh to be arrested and also released the employees of Rai Gyan Singh. On enquiry he was proved guilty of treason, and was hanged to death. Some of his associates were sent to jail.

Rai Gyan Singh had married the daughter of Mian Padam Singh of Mandi. A son was born to him on 11 September, 1882, corresponding to 26 Bhadra, Samvat 1919, who was named Dilip Singh. His mother died in September 1869 and Gyan Singh himself died on 18 August, 1880.

Rai Dilip Singh

Section 76 : Rai Dilip Singh ascended the throne after his father and was placed under the Court of Wards. During this time many administrators came one after another. Captain Harcourt, Sahib Bahadur, Captain Macneill, Sahib Bahadur Mr. Bruce, Sahib Bahadur Mr. Clark, Mr. Ismia, etc. brought about tremendous progress in the state. Settlement was also done, debts were cleared and annual income of the state had increased considerably.

Rai Sahib received good education and now he has been assigned the powers of the state also. He is a strongly built young man; he has a good practice of horse riding and is very fond of hunting. He is married from Nadaun and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp and show. The author stayed here for five years as Superintendent; earlier the position was occupied by Nathu Ram Sahib. He had made excellent arrangements and the author is very much thankful to him. And when the author was transferred on promotion to Suket state, as Superintendent, he relinquished his charge to Munshi Gobind Ram and left the state in prosperity.

End of the genealogy of Kullu State.

NOTES

1. This king was Bir Sen who in Samvat 1268 was the ruler of Suket.
2. The Raja of Suket who killed Hast Pal was Vikram Sen.
3. It is written in the history of Suket that Raja Lakshman Sen in the 14th year of his reign snatched this from Maheshar Pal.
4. The name of this Raja of Suket was Madan Sen.
5. This place is now deserted and is visible from Naggar.
6. Hat : Hat is a small village situated near Bajaura. During those times it was a large town. There is an ancient temple whose structure, carvings and statues are the best among all the temples in the region of Kullu. This area was gifted to Raja Bhosal by the Raja of Suket at the time of marriage of his daughter.
7. Name of this Raja was Saheb Sen.
8. Name of this Raja was Suraj Sen.

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APPENDIX II

GENEALOGICAL LIST OF THE RAJAS OF KULLU

Sr. No.	*Name as per Harcourt*	*Name as per Hiranand Shastri*	*Name as per Hutchison & Vogel*	*Name as per Hardyal*
1.	Behungamunee	Bihangmani Pal	Behangamani	Bihangmani Pal
2.	Puch Pal	Pachch (ksa) Pal	Pachch Pal	Pachch Pal
3.	Baheg Pal	Bihang Pal	Bihang Pal	Bhag Pal
4.	Doorheen Pal	Hin Pal	Durhin or Hin Pal	Hin Pal or Orhin Pal
5.	Soorg Pal	Svarg Pal	Svarg Pal	Sarg Pal
6.	Sooktee Pal	Sakti Pal	Sakti Pal	Sakti Pal
7.	Mahida Pal	Mahisvar	Mahisvar Pal or Mahindar Pal	Mahidhar Pal
8.	Oom Pal	Om Pal	Om Pal	Om Pal
9.	Rajinda Pal	Rajendar Pal	Rajendar Pal	Anant Pal
10.	Basud Pal	Visad Pal	Visad Pal	Rajendar Pal
11.	Busuda Pal	Visuddh Pal	Visudh Pal	Basra Pal
12.	Ootam Pal	Uttam Pal	Uttam Pal	Vasudh Pal
13.	Doja Pal	Dvij Pal	Dvij Pal	Uttam Pal
14.	Chukkur Pal	Chakar Pal	Chakar Pal	Dhuja Pal
15.	Kurn Pal	Karn Pal	Karn Pal	Chakar Pal
16.	Sooruj Pal	Suraj Pal	Suraj Pal	Karan Pal
17.	Ruxsh Pal	Raksh Pal	Raksh Pal	Suraj Pal
18.	Roodur Pal	Rudar Pal	Rudar Pal	Uchch Pal or Rachch Pal
19.	Haemur Pal	Hamir Pal	Hamir Pal	Rudra Pal
20.	Pursidh Pal	Parsidh Pal	Parsidh Pal	Hamier Pal

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Sr. No.	Name as per Harcourt	Name as per Hiranand Shastri	Name as per Hutchison & Vogel	Name as per Hardyal
21.	Huree Chund Pal	Harichand Pal	Hari Chand Pal	Parsidh Pal
22.	Soobut Pal	Subhat Pal	Subhat Pal	Harichand Pal
23.	Soam Pal	Som Pal	Som Pal	Subhat Pal
24.	Sunsar Pal	Sansar Pal	Sansar Pal	Som Pal
25.	Bhag Pal	Bhog Pal	Bhog Pal	Sansar Pal
26.	Bubyah Pal	Vibhay Pal	Vibhay Pal	Bhog Pal
27.	Brahmo Pal	Brahm Pal	Brahm Pal	Bhui Pal
28.	Gunaesh Pal	Ganes Pal	Ganesh Pal	Pram Pal
29.	Gumbheer Pal	Gambhir Pal	Gambhir Pal	Ganesh Pal
30.	Bhoomee Pal	Bhumi Pal	Bhumi Pal	Yagya Pal
31.	Shreedut Taeshur Pal	Sriddattesvar Pal	Sri Dateshvar	Bhumi Pal
32.	Umr Pal	Amar Pal	Amar Pal	Sri Datteshvar Pal
33.	Seetal Pal	Sital Pal	Sital Pal and five of his descendants lived in Bushahar and never ruled	Sil Pal
34.	Shirree Jareshur Pal	Sri Jaresvar Pal	Sri Jaresvar Pal	Jhadishar Pal
35.	Purkash Pal	Parkas Pal	Parkash Pal	Prakash Pal
36.	Ajumba Pal	Ajambar (?) Pal (perhaps Achamba)	Achamba Pal	Ajnabar Pal
37.	Tupanaeshur Pal	Tapnesvar Pal	Tapaneshvar Pal	Tapteshar Pal
38.	Purum Pal	Param Pal	Param Pal	Punyeshar Pal
39.	Nard Pal	Narad Pal	Narad Pal	Nagender Pal
40.	Narotam Pal	Narottam Pal	Narottam Pal	Narad Pal
41.	Shaesh Pal	Sesh Pal	Shish Pal	Narottam Pal
42.	Bhoob Pal	Bhu (or Bhup) Pal	Bhupal or Bhup Pal	
43.	Janeerood Pal	Aniruddh Pal	Anirudh Pal	Bhupal
44.	Hust Pal	Hast Pal	Hast Pal or Hait Pal Next three Dhani Ram, Gopal Das and Lachmidas were only *jagirdars* of Suket.	Janrudh Pal

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Sr. No.	*Name as per Harcourt*	*Name as per Hiranand Shastri*	*Name as per Hutchison & Vogel*	*Name as per Hardyal*
45.	Soortee Pal	Sur (or Surat) Pal	Surat Pal	Hast Pal
46.	Suntokh Pal	Santokh Pal	Santokh Pal	Sur Pal
47.	Taegya Pal	Tegh Pal	Tegh Pal	Santokh Pal
48.	Oocht Pal or Kuchet Pal	Uchit Pal	Uchit Pal	Tegh Pal
49.	Sichundur Pal	Sikandar Pal	Sikandar Pal	Kochet Pal
50.	Surus Pal	Saras Pal	Saras Pal	Chandar Pal
51.	Saedaeb Pal	Sahdev Pal	Sahdev Pal	Saras Pal
52.	Siri Mahadaeb Pal	Sri Mahadev Pal	Sri Mahadev Pal	Sahdev Pal
53.	Nirtee Pal	Nirati Pal	Nirati Pal	Mahadev Pal
54.	Baen Pal	Bain Pal	Bain Pal	Tripati Pal
55.	Hast Pal	Hast Pal	Hast Pal II	Bain Pal
56.	Saesee Pal	Sasi Pal	Sasi Pal	Hanat Pal
57.	Gumbheer Pal	Gambhir Pal	Gambhir Pal	Sahsi Pal or Sasi Pal
58.	Nisodhun Pal	Nishudan Pal	Nishudan Pal	Gambhir Pal
59.	Naridan Pal	Narendar Pal	Narendar Pal	Nishudan Pal
60.	Sutokh Pal	Santokh Pal	Santokh Pal	Narendar Pal
61.	Nundh Pal	Nand Pal	Nand Pal	Santokh Pal
62.	Dhurtee Pal	Dharti Pal	Dharti Pal	Nand Pal
63.	Indur Pal	Indar Pal	Indar Pal	Dharti Pal
64.	Mahee Chukur Pal	Mahichakar Pal	Mahichakar Pal	Indar Pal
65.	Yeodhar Pal	Jaya (or Yaso) dhar Pal	Jayadhar Pal	Mahichakar Pal
66.	Keral Pal	Keral Pal	Keral Pal	Budh Pal
67.	Hand Pal	Hans Pal	Hans Pal	Rattan Chandar Pal
68.	Augusth Pal	Agast Pal	Agast Pal	Khral Pal
69.	Mudhun Pal	Madan Pal	Madan Pal	Hans Pal
70.	Muddho Pal	Madhu Pal		Agast Pal–Madan Pal, Budh Pal
71.	Oodhan Pal	Udhran Pal	Urdhan Pal 1418-1428	Urdhan Pal or Dhan Pal

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Sr. No.	Name as per Harcourt	Name as per Hiranand Shastri	Name as per Hutchison & Vogel	Name as per Hardyal
72.	Kelas Pal	Kailas Pal	Kelas Pal 1428-1450	Kelash Pal or Kashyap Pal
73.	Sidh Pal	Siddh Pal	Sidh Singh 1500	Sidh Pal or Sidh Singh 1486
74.	Bahadur Sing	Bahadur Singh	Bahadur Singh 1532	Bahadur Singh 1526
75.	Pertab Sing	Partap Singh	Partap Singh 1559	Partap Singh 1569
76.	Purbut Sing	Parbat Singh	Parbat Singh 1575	Parvat Singh 1584
77.	Prithi Sing	Pirthi Singh	Prithi Singh 1608	Prithi Singh 1618
78.	Kalian Sing	Kalyan Singh	Kalian Singh 1635	Man Singh 1635
79.	Juggut Sing	Jagat Singh	Jagat Singh 1637	Jagat Singh 1637
80.	Boodh Sing	Bidhi Singh 1688	Bidhi Singh 1672	Hari Singh 1662 Bidhi Singh 1663
81.	Maun Singh	Man Singh	Man Singh 1688	Man Singh 1672
82.	Raj Sing	Raj Singh	Raj Singh 1719	Raj Singh 1717
83.	Jae Sing	Jay Singh	Jai Singh 1731	Jai Singh 1735 or Jeet Singh
84.	Tedhi Singh	Tedhi Singh	Tedhi Singh 1742	Tedhi Singh 1744
85.	Prithum Sing	Pritam Singh	Pritam Singh 1767	Pritam Singh 1767
86.	Brikham Sing	Bikram Singh	Bikram Singh 1806	Vikram Singh 1806
87.	Jeet Sing Thakoor Sing Gyan Sing Dhuleep Sing	Jit Singh	Ajit Singh 1816 Thakur Singh 1841 Rai Gyan Singh 1852 Rai Dalip Singh 1869 Rai Megh Singh 1892 Rai Bhagwant Singh 1921	Jit Singh 1816 Thakar Singh 1841 Gyan Singh 1852 Dilip Singh 1870-1892

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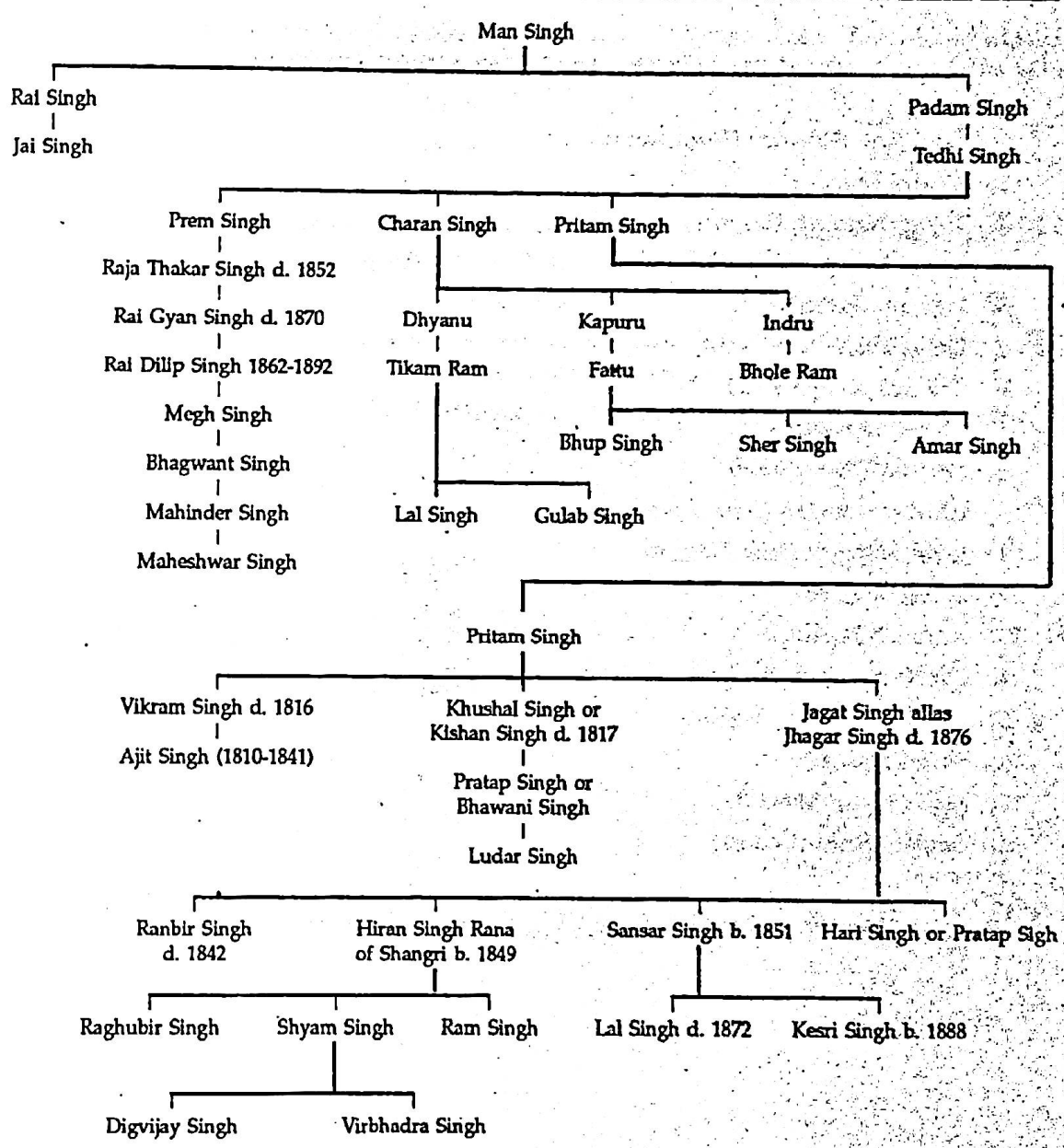
APPENDIX III

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE RAJAS OF KULLU



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APPENDIX IV

(THE EIGHTEEN ORIGINAL GODS OF KULLU)

1. Shamshar Mahadev (Near Anni)
2. Sukirni (Banjar)
3. Trijugi Narayan (Dayar)
4. Kasoli Narayan (Kasol)
5. Jagtham (Barshaini)
6. Bhaga Siddh (Pini Kais)
7. Sinhmal (Gohar Kais)
8. Girmal (Banogi)
9. Thirmal (Dhara Kais)
10. Ishwari Narayan (Ajimal Soel)
11. Jeeva Narayan (Jana Naggar)
12. Jamlu (Malana)
13. Ambal (Chachogi)
14. Shubh Narayan (Rumsu)
15. Harshu Narayan (Hallan)
16. Shandil (Shalin)
17. Manu Rishi (Manali)
18. Gautam Rishi (Goshal)

(Avasthi 1995 : 39). Mahashya's (1996 : 158) list agrees fully with the above.

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APPENDIX V

MEASUREMENTS

Bigha, Biswa and *Biswani* are the usual land measures adopted in Kullu. These terminologies are Mughal in origin (Moreland).

20 *Biswani*	=	1 *Biswa*
20 *Biswa*	=	1 *bigha*
5 *bigha*	=	1 acre

Land was also measured by the amount of seed required to sow a specific area, which may be considered as the ancient local tradition followed in these hills. *Patha* was its basic unit :

1 *patha*	=	24 to 30 *chhatak*

Patha is in fact volume measure and the weight, therefore, would not be uniform for all the kinds of seeds. As such authors give different equivalents of a *patha.*

1 *patha* of *mash* (pulse of *urad*) = 'four seers', or 4 1/3 *kacha* seers, or nearly 2 *packka* seers or 4 lbs.

16 *patha*	=	1 *bhar*
20 *patha*	=	1 *lakh*
20 *bhar*	=	1 *khar*
100 *khar*	=	1 *karsu*

For irrigated land

2 *patha*	=	1 *dhansi*
2 *dhansi*	=	1 *kansi*
2 *kansi*	=	1 *dhonsi*
3 *kansi*	=	1 *trensi*
4 *kansi*	=	1 *juni*

These measures are said to have been in use only in Ujhi Valley or Upper Kullu Valley. In other parts of the country *patha* and *bhar* measures were employed both for irrigated and rainfed land.

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APPENDIX VI

GLOSSARY

batti	=	Five *kacha* seers, or equivalent to two *pakka* seers.
begar	=	Forced labour
Bisht	=	Prime Minister. *Wazir*. The office was hereditary and so some Kullu Rajpur families are still known as *Bisht* (Diack).
chamwar	=	Yak tail
Dani	=	Tax Collector
doji	=	A measure equal to three *bhars*.
gattha	=	One square *gattha* is equal to area of one *biswani*.
gharh	=	Share cropping.
gonth	=	Horse (an old term)
jagir	=	A form of assignment of land.
jagirdar	=	An assignee of land revenue.
jagati	=	(i) Earth, (ii) basement of temple structure.
jagatipith	=	Ground plinth of temple.
jeola	=	Holding.
Kanwar	=	The one who is in the family line of the Raja, but did not get the throne.
kasturi	=	musk
khal	=	Skin load. From khal = skin. Goat or sheep skin.
Mantalai	=	Name of lake above Manikaran between Pin Valley of Spiti and Manikaran Valley, the origin of Parvati river.
mowani	=	The headman of villages in remote times before even the rule of the Thakurs (who were displaced by Rajas) had begun. To them is attributed the construction of many staircases and buildings in cut-stones which the people of the present day have lost the art of building.
Mrichh	=	A fabulous race of men said to have been employed by the *Mowani* to construct the buildings etc.

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nautor	=	Newly-broken land.
Pajori	=	*Lambardra.*
Palsara	=	*Negi*
patta	=	Lease.
Rai	=	A chief or king.
sarsai	=	a local land measure.
sayana	=	A village elderman.
tikka	=	Prince, heir-apparent.
zamindar	=	Literally land holder. 'The word does not necessarily imply any particular claim or title. In the literature of north India, from 14th century onwards, it meant a chief that is, a land holder with title or claim antecedent to Muslim rule, commonly a Raja, Rao, or some other Hindu king, or ex-king, who had become tributary to the Muslim state." (Moreland).

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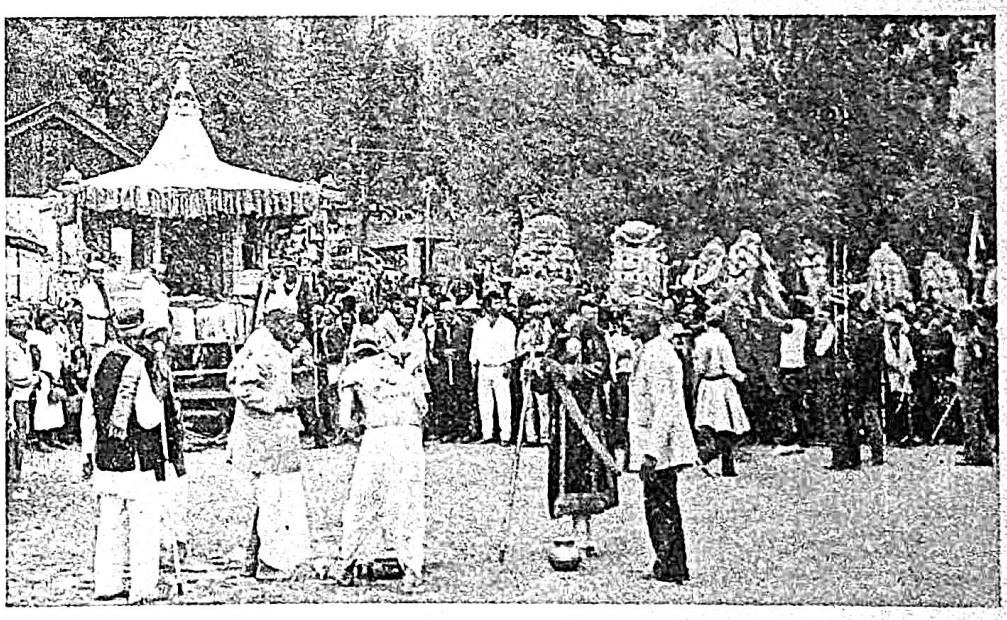
Plate I



B

A, image of Raghunath at Sultanpur and B, devtas during Kullu Dussehra festival

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C

B

A

A, palace gateway and B & C, devtas during festival

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B

A

A, Pandit Nehru with Lal Chand Prarthi and, B, sawing loc

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B

A

Jagatsukh : Gauri–Sankara Temple

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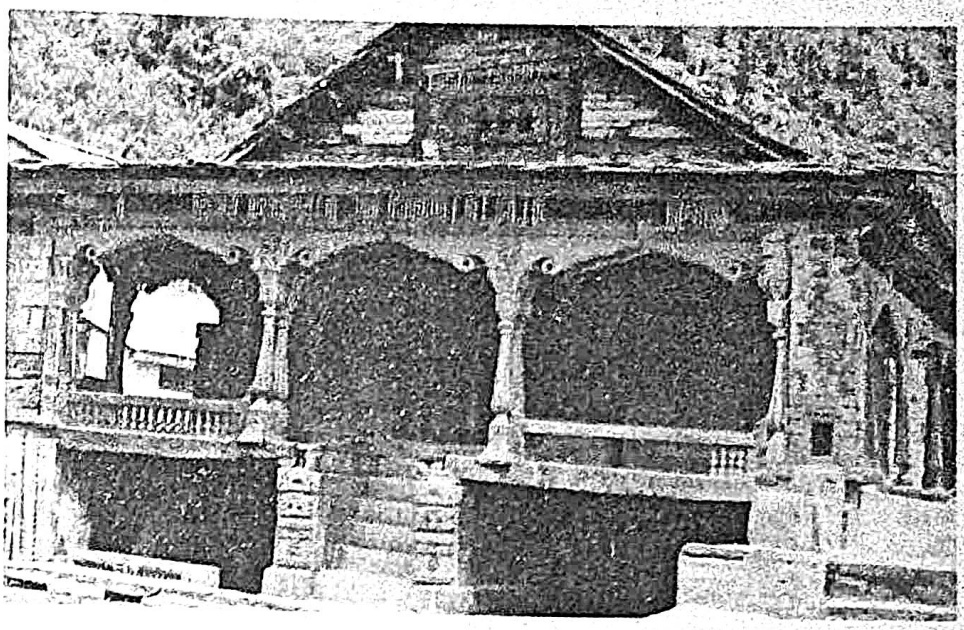

A

B

Jagat Sukh : Sandhya Gayatri Temple

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B

A

Jagat Sukh : A, image of Vaishnavi and B, wood-carving of *Sandhya Gayatri Temple*

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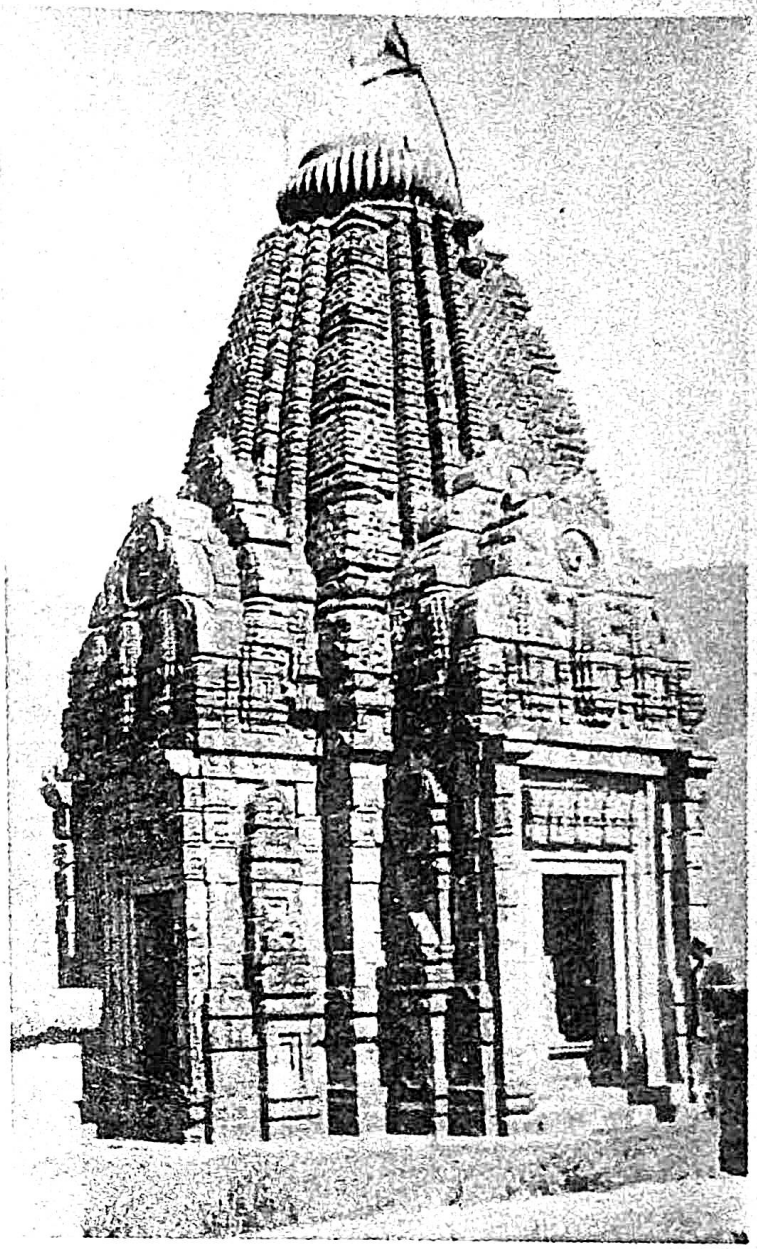
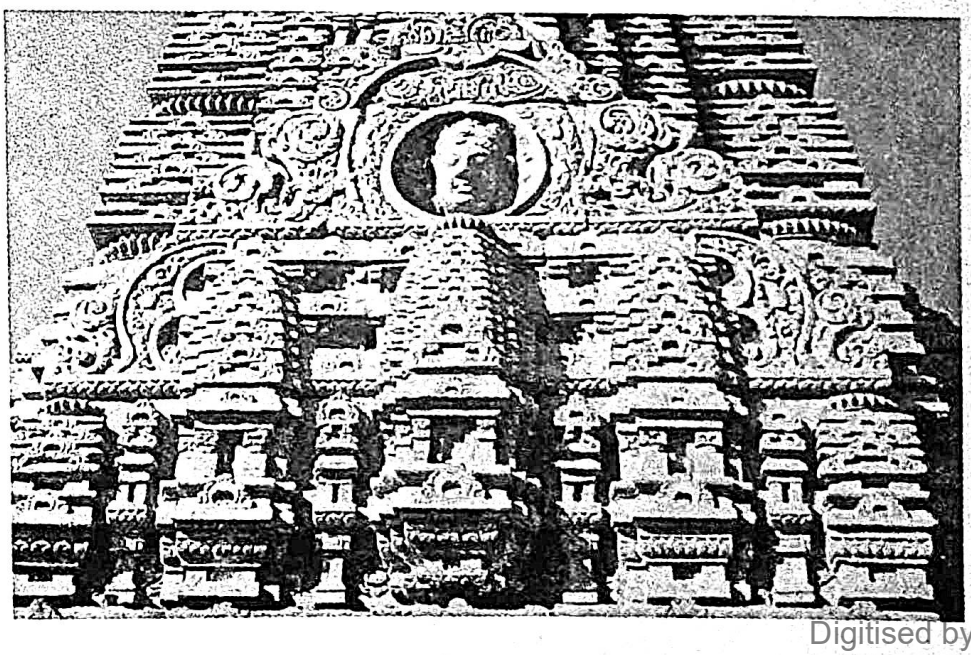


A



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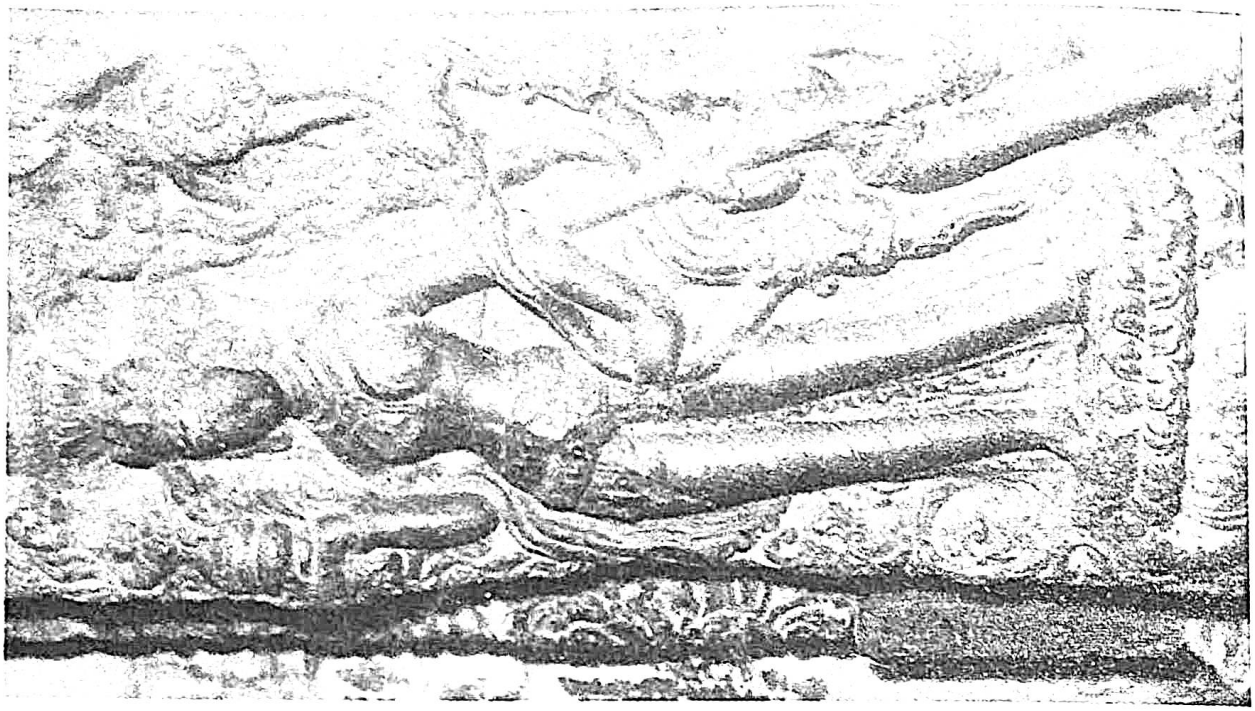
B

Bajaura : Visvesara Mahadeva Temple



B

A

Bajaura : Visvesara Mahadeva Temple, A, *Vishnu* and B, *Ganga*

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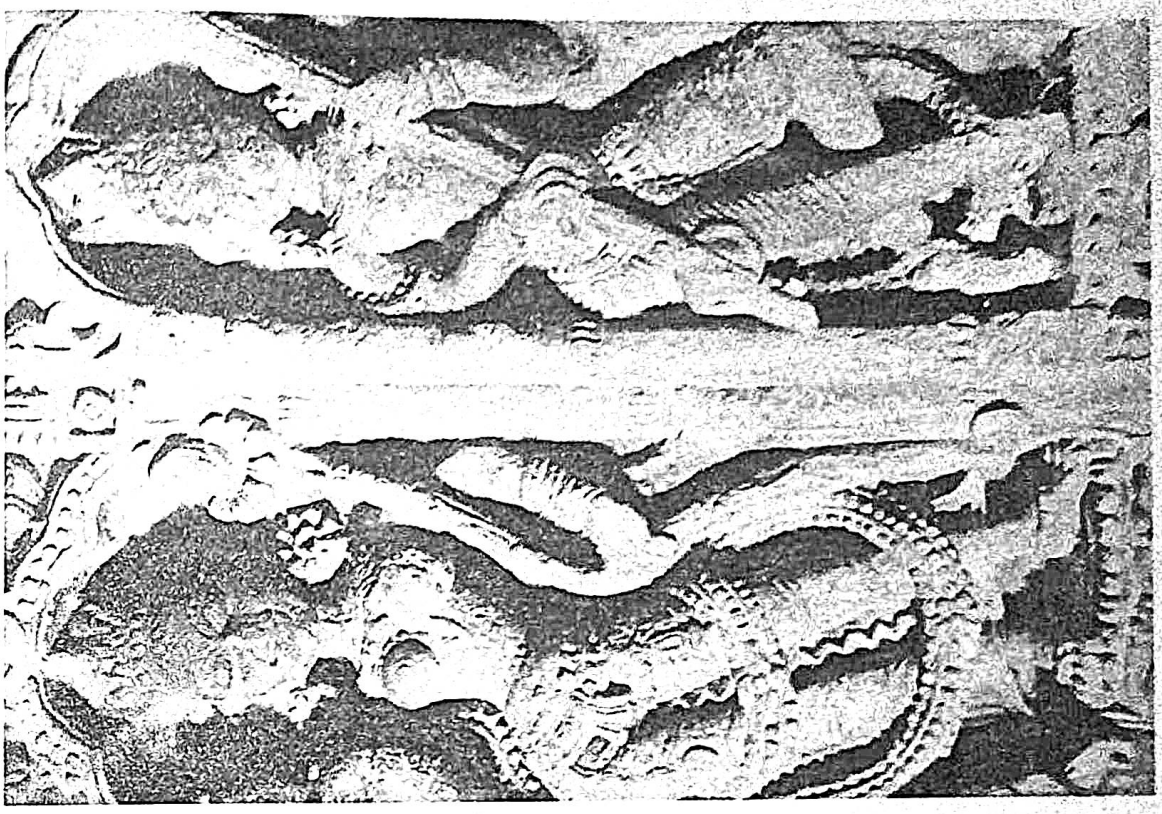

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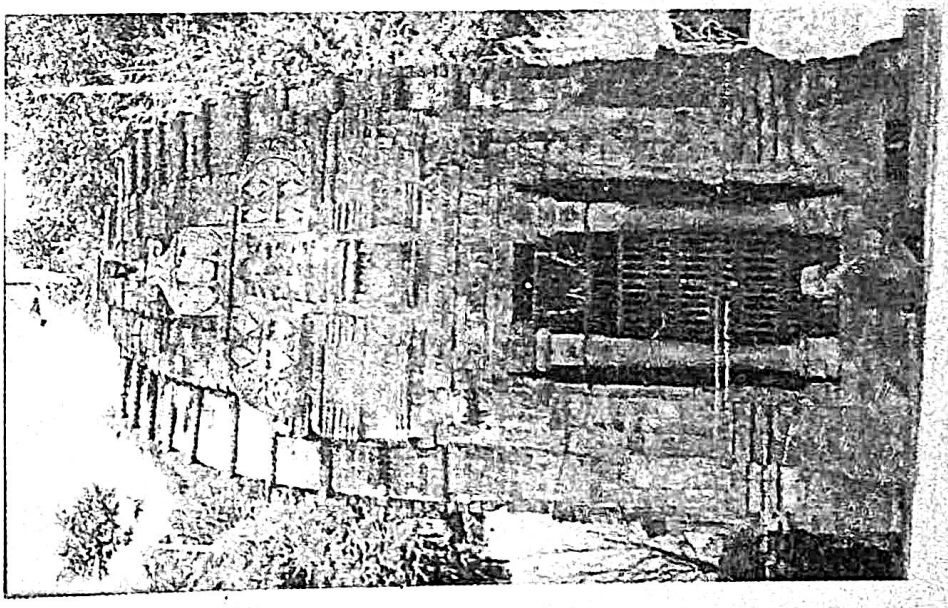

A

Dassal : A, Gauri–Sankara Temple and B, dwarpalas

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B

A

Naggar : A, Gauri–Sankara Temple and B, image of Gauri-Sankara

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B

A

A, Temple at Bashishth and B, Tripura Sundari Temple at Naggar

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B

A

A, Hidimba Devi Temple, Manali; B, Trijuganarayana Temple, Diyar

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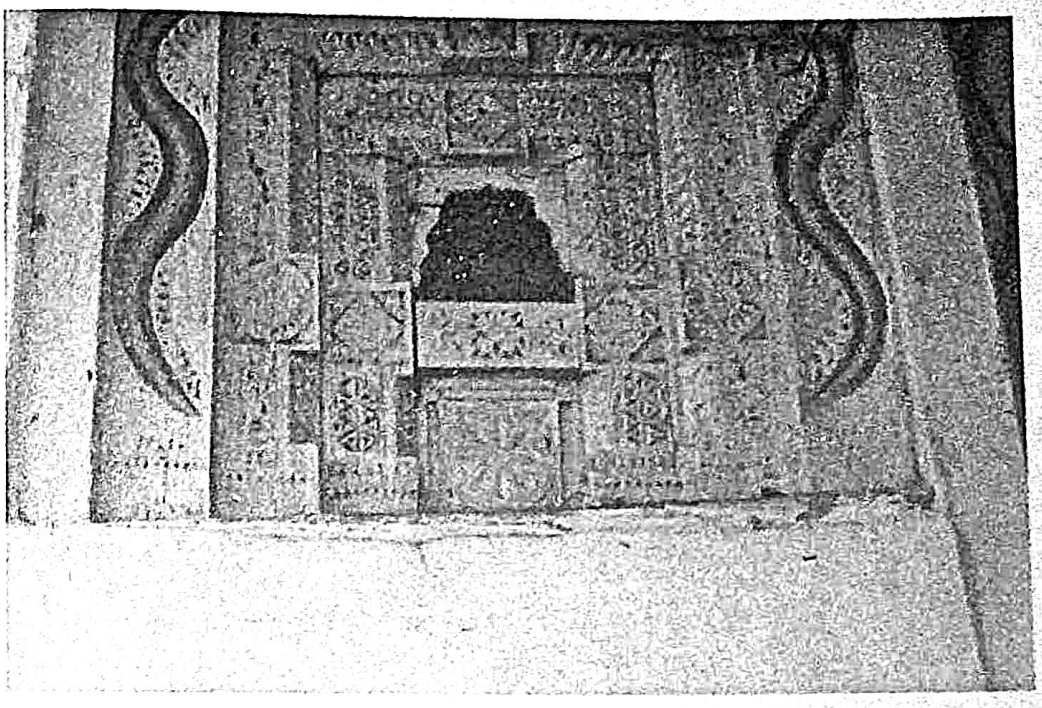
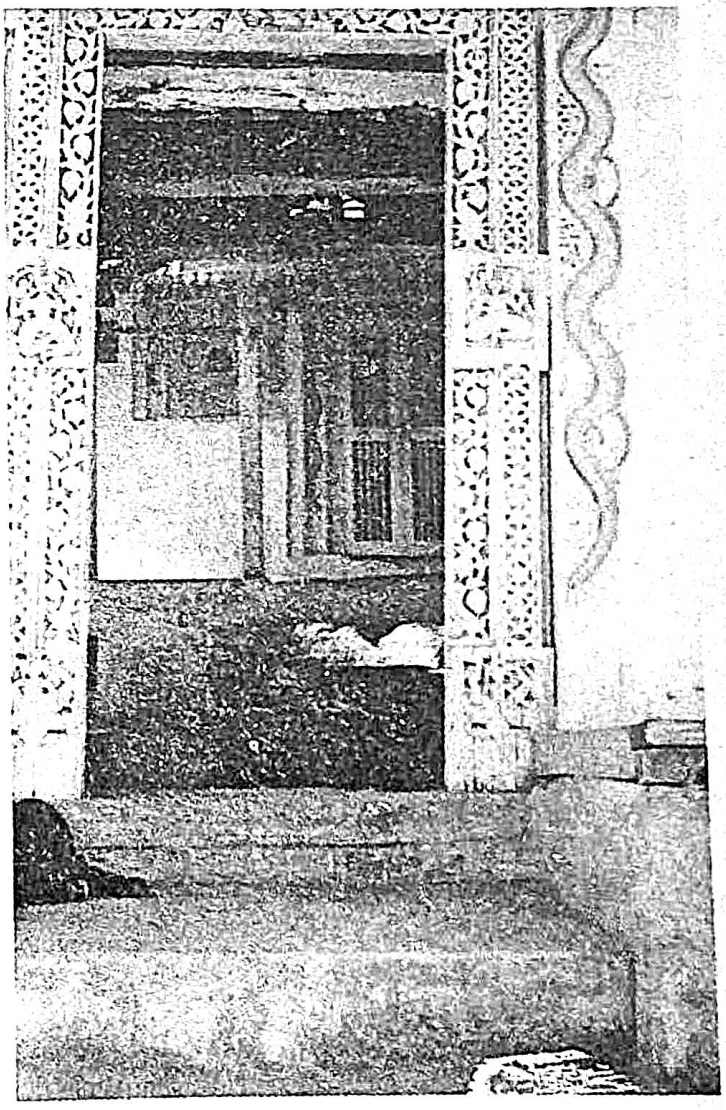


A



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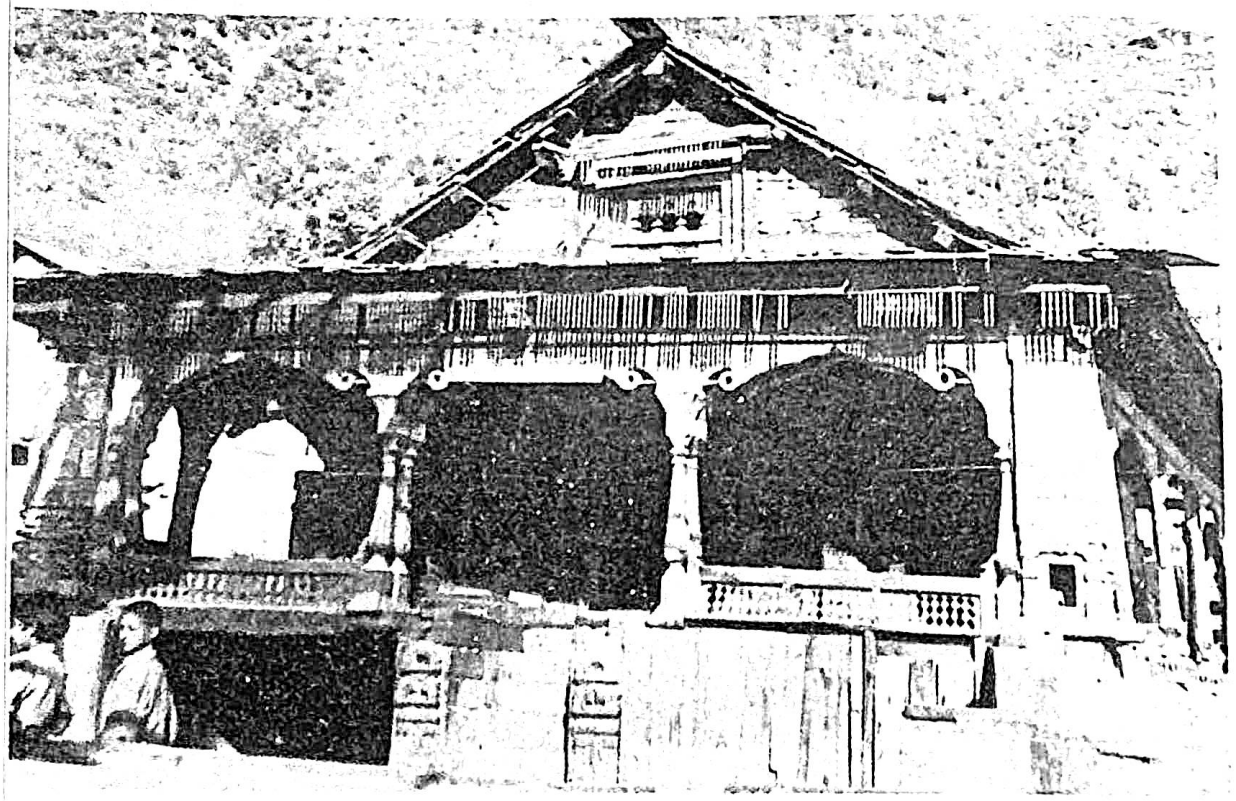
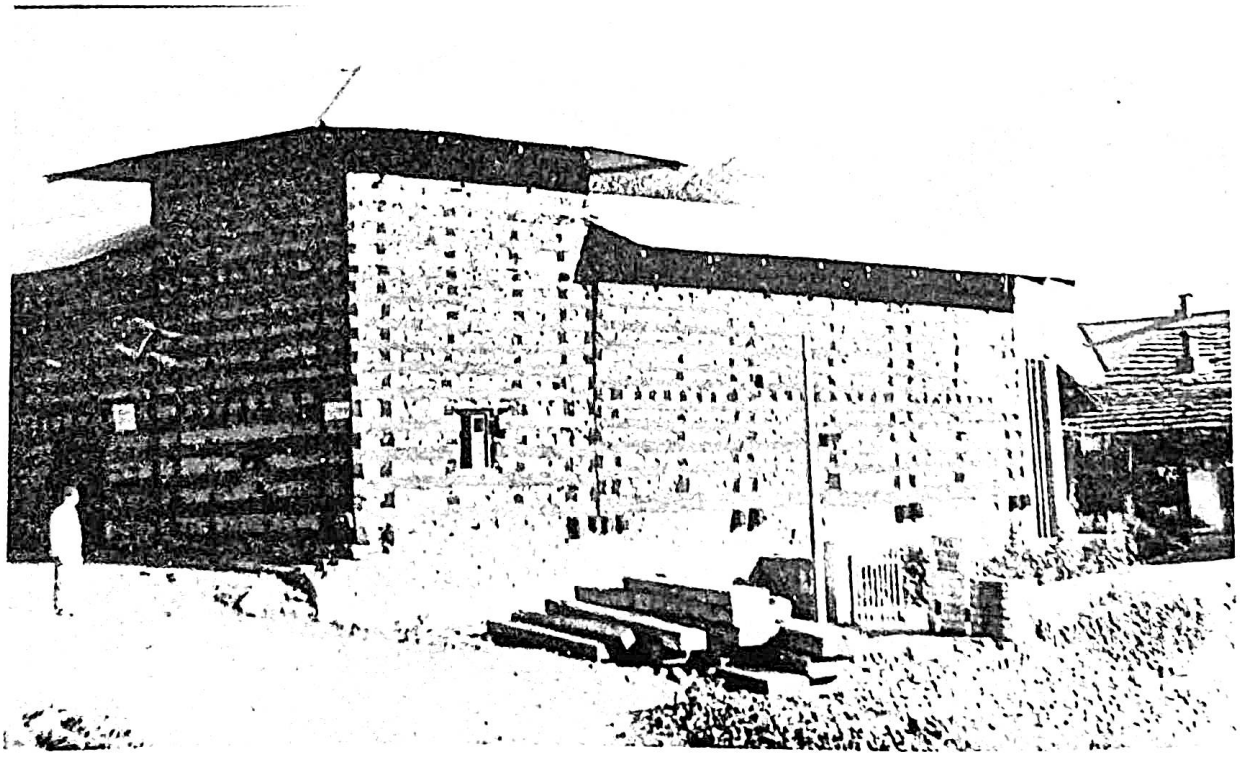
Diyar : Trijuganarayana Temple, details of carvings



A



B

A, Sandhya Gayatri Temple, Jagatsukh; B, Castle Naggar

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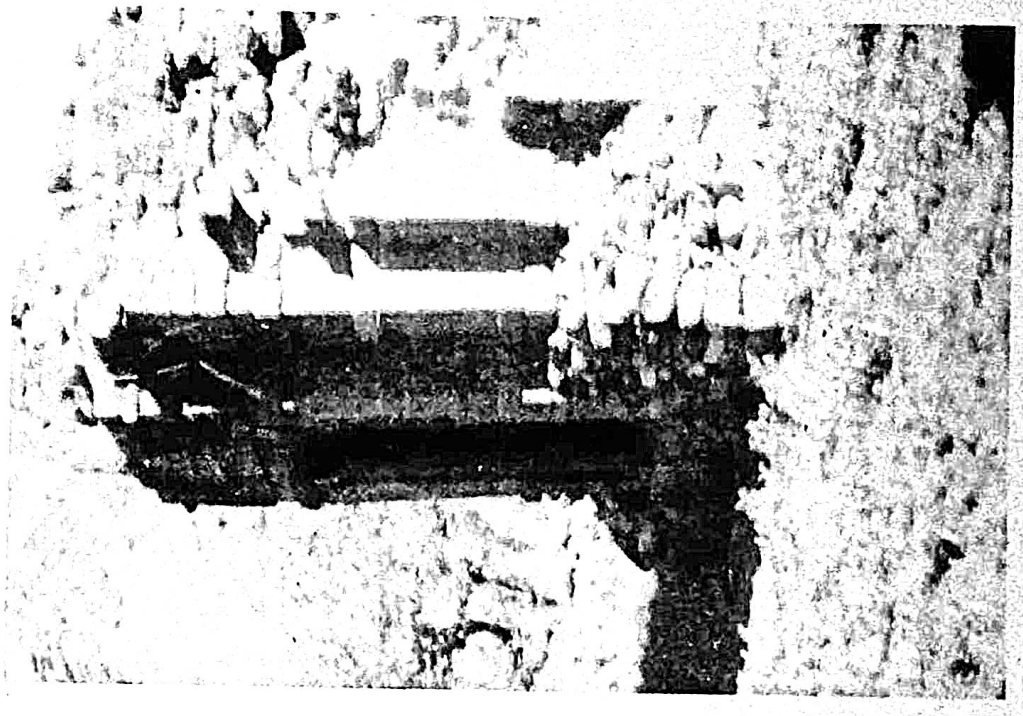
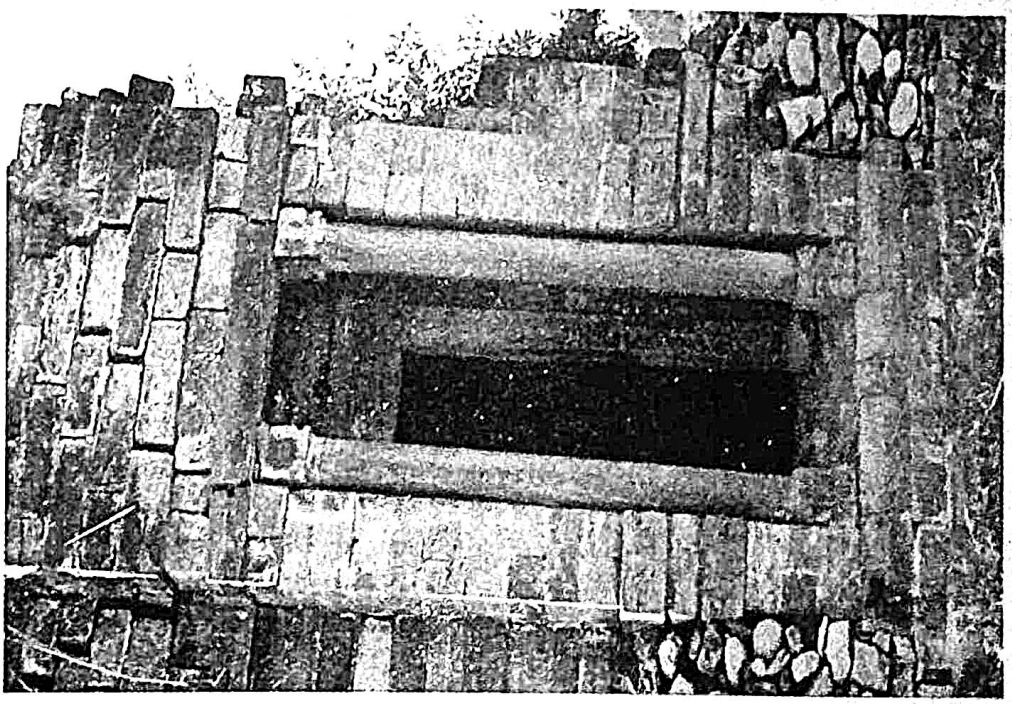


B

A



A

B

Temple remains at Mangalor

Temple remains at Mangalor

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B

A

A, Naggar : standing image of *Vishnu*; B, *Banjar* : *Chehni Kothi*

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Tobdan (b. 1944) is a self-taught scholar of several languages like Tibetan, Sanskrit, and Urdu etc. and even more dialects spoken in the interiors of the lofty Himalayas. He specialises in the study of his own area of district Lahul and Spiti, in its all aspects, especially history, language and culture, and incidentally the adjoining districts of Ladakh, Kullu and Chamba. He had served for thirteen years in the Reserve Bank of India and at present is in National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development. He obtained degree in Law from the University of Delhi. Tobdan has to his credit the books entitled *History and Religions of Lahul* (1984), *Bhoti Parichaya : Vyakaran Aur Anuvad* (1990), *The People of the Upper Valley : The sTodpas of Lahul in the Himalayas* (1993) and jointly with Shri C. Dorje *Historical Documents From Western Trans Himalaya Lahul, Zanskar and Ladakh* (1996) and numerous research papers and scholarly articles published in reputed journals and volumes.

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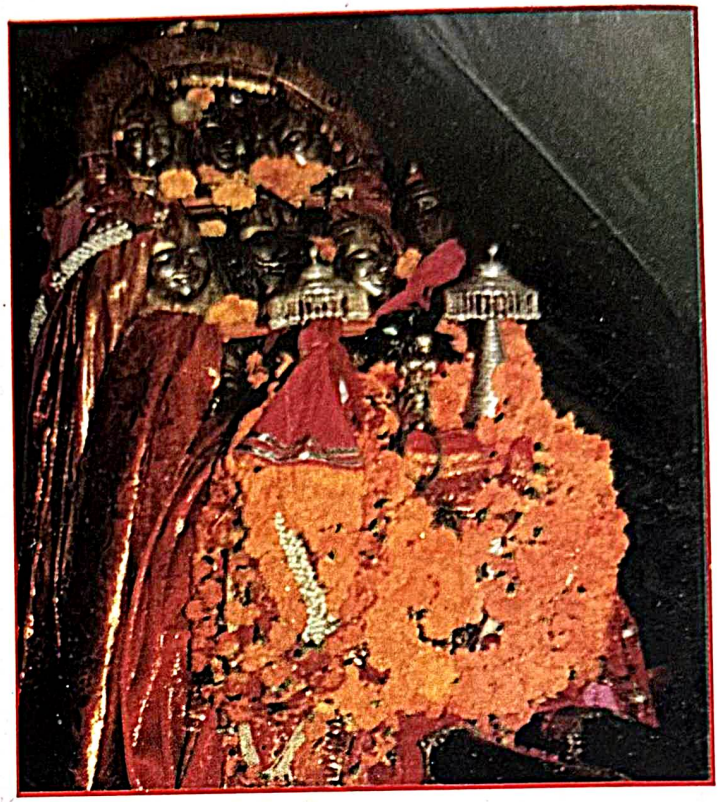

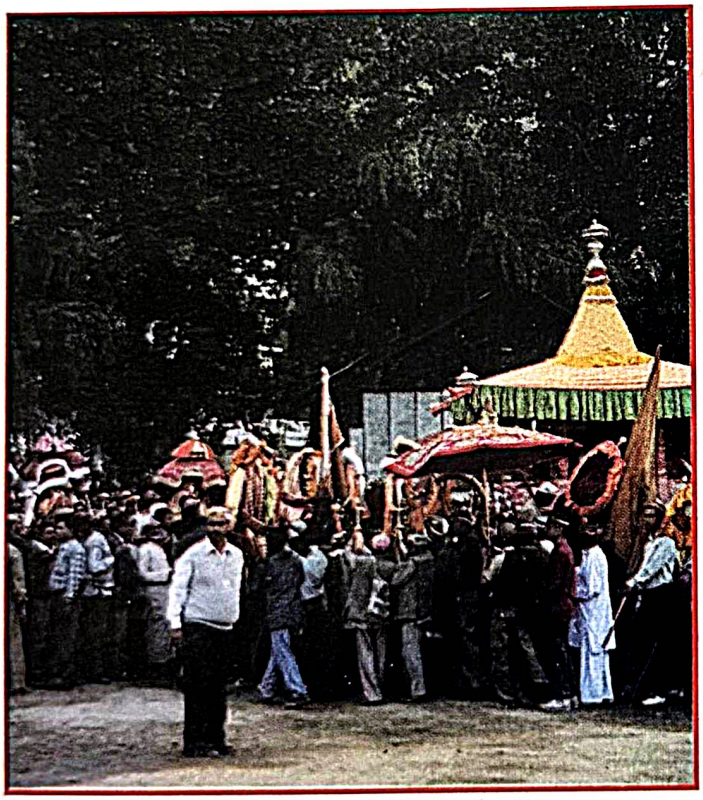

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